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ABSTRACT

This volume is a collection of 11 articles which focus on the problems of family life among military personnel with dependent children. Three brief articles included in Chapter I discuss the military child from a developmental perspective, beginning with the preschool child and continuing through latency to adolescence. Chapter II reports on familial and social role perceptions of children raised in military families. Chapter III discusses the androgynous wife and the military child. Chapter IV explores the effect of the absent parent on Rorschach "T" responses. Chapter V explores the military mother's need for child development services. Chapter VI discusses problems of children of mixed marriages. Chapter VII studies the language learning of internationally mobile military youth. Chapter VIII reports a study of child abuse and neglect. Chapter IX describes a group treatment program provided for mothers whose children were in emergency foster care. Chapter X advocates research of the effects of parent effectiveness training among military families. Chapter XI reports on characteristics and management of child abuse and neglect among military families. (Author/RH)

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CHILDREN *OF* MILITARY FAMILIES

A PART AND YET APART

EDITED BY:
Edna J. Hunter
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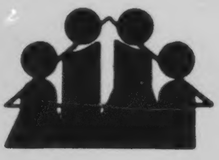

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This volume is dedicated to all children of military parents — the independent dependent service "Brats" who are expected to adapt to the constant of change.

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The opinions and assertions contained herein are the private ones of the writers and are not to be construed as official or as reflecting the views of the Department of the Navy, the Department of the Army, or the Department of the Air Force.

FOREWORD

Only in recent years has the military family become an important issue of concern for military planners. No longer is a family "issued" if the military wants a serviceman to have one, since most military service personnel now come equipped with a family, including a child or two. With the advent of the all-volunteer force, the military has been presented with new problem situations not heretofore recognized; e.g., the increasing numbers of single-parent families headed by men as well as women, dual-career families, pregnant service personnel and "dependent" husbands.

Whereas the problems of drug and alcohol abuse were the major concerns of those in top military echelons a few years ago, attention has now turned to spouse and child abuse. Recently, additional problem areas have demanded recognition, such as the full utilization of women in non-traditional jobs, stereotypic attitudes which decrease full utilization of personnel, the difficulties of effecting joint reassignments when both spouses are military members, the growing need for 24-hour daycare facilities for children of single-parent families and working mothers, and the increased demand for family support programs to alleviate the stresses of family separations in an era when the family has taken on added importance to its individual members.

Interest in these problems has increased with the growing recognition that the service person's satisfaction with military life is highly related to family satisfaction and family functioning, which in turn are related to on-the-job performance and, ultimately, to the retention decision. It has become apparent that the family mission and the military mission are inextricably intertwined, and when there is disharmony or conflict at the family/organization interface, there exists an obstacle to optimal fulfillment of the mission for both social systems. There is, therefore, dollar payoff for the military if these conflicts can be attenuated or eliminated.

The military community includes over two million children; ninety percent of this population is under 13 years of age. As the military increases its efforts to improve what Hill (1976) has referred to as the "present state of antagonistic cooperation" between the military and family system, these children must be considered.

The children of military families have long been referred to as military dependents. Although this conceptualization is correct in one sense, it should not be inferred that the nature of the relationship is unidirectional, i.e., the military impacts on the child. It is far more accurate to envision an interactive model in which the military system affects and is affected by its children. The purpose of this volume is to elucidate many of the factors which reciprocally operate between the military and its youthful dependents.

The adequate development of the approximately four million children of military parents is the primary mission of military families. The child within the military system has been much neglected in the past. Most assuredly the children of the military are very personally affected by organizational decisions and policies which impact detrimentally upon the military family. They deserve more attention in the future. President Jimmy Carter recently designated 1979 as the Year of the Child; it should also be the Year of the Child within the Military.

Edna J. Hunter
D. Stephen Nice

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CHAPTER I

THE MILITARY CHILD: A DEVELOPMENTAL PERSPECTIVE

Jon A. Shaw
John C. Duffy
Charles R. Privitera

The assessment of behavior in childhood and adolescence is traditionally determined relative to a normal expectable sequence of regularly occurring developmental phases. These phases in development reflect the intrinsic changes associated with biological and psychological growth as they emerge in interaction with the extrinsic influences of the socio-cultural milieu. The children in the military community experience the same general developmental and maturational processes as other children but they also experience a social and facilitating environment which is unique. The commonly accepted stresses associated with the military way of life are geographic mobility, transcultural experiences, transient father absence and early military retirement.

The following three sections of this chapter will approach the problems of children living within the military community from a developmental perspective. While recognizing the importance of family systems theory, crisis theory, and the relevance of parental identification and assimilation into the military community as sectors of influence determining the child's adaptation, we will be attempting to focus on those intrinsic developmental crises which are part of the life cycle. How do the discontinuities of the developmental processes interrelate with the discontinuities of a changing social network? Are there critical stages of development when the child experiences these extrinsic crises differentially? How vulnerable is the preschool child, the latency-age child and the adolescent to the specific stresses inherent in military life?

THE PRESCHOOL CHILD AND THE MILITARY FAMILY

Charles R. Privitera

It has been estimated that there are approximately 2,140,000 children living in the military community with a median age of 5.3 years (Bennett et al., 1974). The large number of young children indicates the usefulness of attempting to gain a better understanding of the military way of life on their development.

The preschool child is defined for our purposes as a child from birth to six years of age. During this period, the child passes from almost total dependency, through various subphases of separation and individuation, achieving object constancy and eventually becomes integrated into a community of peers. This is a time of marked vulnerability to any stress which threatens the mutuality of the mother-infant dyad and the supporting matrix of the family to provide an optimal milieu in which the child's growth and differentiation may occur.

Geographic mobility, while a frequent occurrence in military life, does not appear to be intrinsically disruptive to the preschool child. It is the family as the unit of response which determines the impact on the child. Parental attitudes toward family moves and identification with the military community are of paramount importance (Pedersen and Sullivan, 1964). As long as the family is able to provide a supporting emotional framework within which the child continues to develop, there may be little manifest disturbances other than those associated with a transient crisis. If a family move occurs just as the child is beginning to develop peer relationships and to achieve some mastery of self-initiated activities, a period of regression may occur. In general, it is the social stresses inherent in military life which disrupt the continuity and emotional stability of the family that are most disruptive for the preschool child. More specifically, it is the episodic experience of transient father absence which has the most pathogenic effect on the child's evolving personality.

In an effort to understand the role of father absence and its impact on the child, let us focus on Piaget's concepts of cognitive egocentricity and the child's theory of causality, although we shall not address specifically the development of gender role and gender identity as it is influenced by father absence. During the preoperational period of cognitive development (age 2-6 or 7), the child becomes increasingly able to internally represent external events. He is able to use symbolic processes for the expression of his conflicts, and is less bound to motoric actions for his behavior. His cognitive development, however, remains constrictive, and "thought is not yet liberated from perception" (Piaget, 1969, p. 93).

Piaget defines egocentrism as the child's inability to take the role of the other and to see the viewpoint another person might possess. The child believes that everyone thinks the same way that he does, and that everyone thinks the same things he does. As a consequence, he never questions his own thoughts because they are, as far as he is concerned, the only thoughts possible and hence must be correct (Flavell, 1963; Lidz, 1976; Piaget, 1968, 1969). This egocentric thinking, while present in normal development, greatly affects how the child interprets and understands events occurring in his environment. In the child's mind, events are never fortuitous. There is no chance in nature; everything is made for man and children. The child's theory of causality is characterized by a lack of differentiation between psychological, physical and intellectual egocentricity (Piaget, 1968). All reality is construed with the self as a model. The child egocentrically believes that all people, animals, and inanimate objects are motivated or activated in a manner similar to himself. Thus, the clouds move because they want to hide the sun; the water in a stream flows because oars push it (Lidz, 1976). We make the clouds move by walking; the clouds obey us at a distance (Flavell, 1963, p. 285).

A brief clinical vignette is presented which illustrates the preschool child's egocentric concept of causality.

> *John, a 5-1/2 year old boy, was referred by his Montessori school teacher for psychiatric evaluation. He had recently evidenced hyperactivity, decreased ability to concentrate and "low self-esteem." This began shortly after the family had learned that John's father had died when his airplane was shot down over North Vietnam (RVN) just two months after his departure from home.*
>
> *In individual psychotherapy and through play therapy, John was able to express the known events of his father's death. He revealed how he had been afraid that his father's airplane would crash even before his father had gone to RVN, i.e., he had fantasized it happening. Now that it had happened, he felt deeply responsible "as if I had caused it." His fantasy had materialized. It was not until John was approximately seven years of age, that he was able to even consider the possibility that his wishes had little to do with his father's death. He stated, "You know I used to think my thoughts caused my father's plane to be shot down." It was like a "switch had been turned" in therapy with his ability to consider alternatives to his egocentric perspective of his father's death; his play patterns changed in a more constructive direction. This coincided with a marked cessation in aberrant behaviors and a positive change in his heretofore, depressed mood.*

> *It was apparent that this boy's problems resulted from the overwhelming stress of losing his father at a time when his cognitive development was entrenched in preoperational processes and the oedipal conflict.*
>
> *His concept of physical reality and his egocentric interpretation of causality resulted in John being unable to cope with his father's death at a time when his fantasies were consistent with the event that transpired in reality. His subsequent capacity to integrate the knowledge of his father's death in a more rational manner occurred only with his impending entrance into the next higher stage of cognitive development, i.e., concrete operations.*

The crucial developmental crisis experienced by preschool children in the military community is programmed intermittent and transient father absence. As Biller (1970) pointed out, "Every child experiences father absence to some degree," and that "there are almost *[an]* infinite variety of patterns of father absence," depending on the variables examined. The preschool child in the military family is a child at risk. The preschool child will invariably explain his father's absence egocentrically and within the emotional configuration of the specific phases of his development.

The Oedipal aged child's interpretation of father absence will necessarily be influenced by the emotional issues of the triangular conflict. The absence of father will have a variable impact on the child's emerging sense of gender identity, capacities to modulate and express aggression and his own role as a child living in a specific family. This is determined by the child's gender, his age, and developmental conflicts, as well as the capacities of the mother and external support systems during father's absence. Piaget's concept of the child's egocentric theory of causality provides a framework within which the child's responses to father absence can be unravelled. His symbolic interpretation of that absence and its idiosyncratic meaning to him has to be considered with other social systemic influences if one is to assess more fully the impact of father absence on the child. As Crumley (1973) has stated, "This continuing cycle of father departure, interim absence and subsequent reunion in the military is a gross developmental interference with the needs and rights of children."

THE LATENCY AGE EXPERIENCE AND THE MILITARY FAMILY

John C. Duffy

The tasks in progress for the latency aged child are:

> *To master greater physical prowess; to further establish self-identity and sex role; to work toward greater independence from parents; to become aware of the world at large; to develop peer and other relationships; and, finally, to acquire learning, new skills and a sense of industry.*

The latency period then is a span marked by elementary school, learning to live together and defining personal experience. In terms of personality, the period is characterized by the child's shift from dependence on parents and peers to more independence, the development of a moral code, achievement and competence in motivation, self-esteem, cooperation and competition.

Later in this period, groups form with particular identities provided by the members; for example, the "bad" boy who is in constant conflict with authorities or the class "clown" who always seems to find the humor in any situation. It is a time for hero and heroine formation, a process strongly influenced by television and which represents the child's highest aspirations.

Society seems to ruminate endlessly about these children. Can we stimulate them intellectually? Is television violence good or bad? Is permissiveness better than strict discipline? Should both sexes compete equally in sports? Are there issues inherent in the military life style which impose a serious risk for healthy development?

Although all are very important questions, they deal more with externals than with the riches of the child's inner life. If the latency age child has achieved solid skills and learning, coupled with successful living with family, school and friends, he will be able to meet the complex physical and psychological demands of puberty. There is much to support the idea that today's child is a new "breed," the result of urbanization, mobility, technology and industrialization. The true emphasis, however, is not a basic change within the child, but the unique interaction of the child with the society.

The period of latency is a life phase, one of whose characteristics is a *product*. An impairment of latency can result in aberrant personality functioning in the later developmental stages. For the most part the importance of the latency period has been ignored, particularly in the psychoanalytic literature. I share the conviction of other writers that the latency state is a phase contributing to the social adjustment which is necessary for successful negotiation of life stresses in later phases. It is *not* merely a chance and transient defensive configuration of the ego. I find the preliminary conclusions of Inbar (1976) of a "Vulnerable Age Phenomenon" in children 6 to 11 years old. He believes that children of latency age are more vulnerable to crises in their environment than either younger or older youths. He further feels that such vulnerability has been ignored because of a preoccupation with younger and older children. His research has focused upon immigration and migration impact upon these children. His tentative results are disturbing. They suggest that single or multiple family moves are of serious impact for the latency age child and much less so upon older or younger children. His measure was school attendance beyond high school.

Those of us who have treated latency age children have seen the outbursts of rebellion and breakdown in discipline which may appear as expressions of revolt and the breakdown of adjustment. This behavior is doomed to bring the child frustration. There is no way out and no victory in reality for this "biologically celibate soldier-dwarf." All that is possible is surrender, and an attempt to please the masters by learning well what there is to be learned. From the standpoint of the future, the pattern of defense developed to hold drives in check, becomes the basis for some of th ego styles of adolescence. That is, a template is formed in latency which guides the permissible expression of drives during puberty.

One final note—although I have emphasized ego, superego, id and cognitive factors in the latency age child, it is only to highlight that aspect of latency that has been for so long neglected. By way of contrast, the role of parents in latency has been much emphasized in the literature. This is as it should be. Wherever the terms society, culture, social inhibition, seduction, or guidance are used, somewhere in the chain of human involvement parents will be found. The role of parents is inseparable from the process of child development, for it is the parents who provide patterns for the modification of schemata and contacts with the world.

THE ADOLESCENT EXPERIENCE AND THE MILITARY FAMILY

Jon A. Shaw

Observers of human development have consistently recognized the momentous significance of the physical and psychological dimensions of puberty. Adolescence as a psychosocial concept refers to the psychological processes of adaptation to the condition of pubescence (Blos, 1962). Erikson (1956) described adolescence as a normative crisis, a normal phase of increased conflict characterized by a seeming fluctuation in ego strength and yet also a high growth potential. In a recent monograph on *The Vulnerable Age Phenomenon*, Inbar (1976), noted that mid-adolescence, around the age of 15 years, represents an age of transition when children are more vulnerable to crises in their environment.

In one of the few studies which investigated the interrelationships between developmental phases and the responses of the child to the social stresses inherent in military life Darnauer (1976) examined the adolescent experience in career army families. In that study, interviews were conducted independently with sixty adolescents (ranging from 16-18 years of age) and their parents at a large military training installation. The majority of the adolescents in the sample indicated that they believed the major negative factor in military life was frequent family moves. Sixty-seven percent of the youths had experienced at least one family move since the ninth grade. A secondary negative influence of much less concern was the requirement for their compliance with army policy regarding personal behavior. They felt that their freedom of self-expression and experimentation was curtailed by the obligation to stay out of trouble lest it have a negative impact on their fathers' careers. Although 75 percent of those youths had experienced a period of father absence during adolescence, this factor was rarely mentioned. Darnauer (1976) concluded that from the point of view of the adolescent, teenage life as a member of an army family is not unique. Data indicate that in general neither youths nor parents appeared to view adolescence in the army family as dissimilar from adolescent life in civilian communities. The major difference was the adolescent's vulnerability to relocation. The capacity for intimacy involving sustained interpersonal relationships was the factor which appeared to be most vulnerable to geographic mobility. Although the theories of adolescence were generally applicable to those youths experiencing adolescence as members of the army family, their problems, were best understood as individuals (Darnauer, 1976).

Psychoanalytic theory assumes every individual evolves an internalized symbolic version of the external world. Erikson's (1956) concept of ego-identity refers to the delineation of an internal self-representation which has continuity and sameness through time and which is confirmed by others. There are also internal object representations of the mother and father which have evolved over the course of the adolescent's development which are emotionally invested with all the loving, hating, and dependency affects representing the condensation of the interpersonal experiences of growing up. Peter Blos (1967) has proposed that adolescence in its totality is the second individuation process, the first one having been completed toward the end of the third year of life with the achievement of object constancy.

Adolescence is characterized by an impetus to a predictable sequential patterning of psychic reorganization in consonance with maturational changes. The task of adolescence requires the individual to withdraw and disengage his childish dependency, loving, and sexual feelings invested in the object representations of his parents and to find a new love object that is not motivated entirely by the need to find parent substitutes or the need to rebel against their internalized image. This requires a critical reappraisal of the childish images of the parents. The adolescent's increased reality testing and cognitive capacities, and his ability to think about thinking allows for a deep searching and exploration of the parents' values and character (Piaget, 1969).

The withdrawing of childhood yearnings from the object representations of his youth and the alteration and delineation of the self and object representations through increased cognitive skills and maturational pressures are the essence of adolescence. The process of separating from the infantile ties to the parental objects is comparable to the process of mourning after the loss of a loved one. The adolescent has to give up forever his youthful dependency and passive longings for the magical and all-providing parental images of his childhood for the purpose of securing his own independence and autonomy. The adolescent's intrapsychic shift from dependency on the infantile objects and the consolidation of a sense of identity, free of the infantile yearnings, represent a discontinuity in development and a vulnerable age of transition.

The disengagement from the internalized object is accompanied by a sense of loss and isolation. There is a frantic turning to the peer group as a substitute, literally, for family and the parental objects. The adolescent requires his social group as an ego support system through which his individuation is to be realized. The group provides the opportunity for social role experimentation without permanent commitment. The individual guilt that accompanies the emancipation from childhood dependencies, prohibitions and loyalties is alleviated through his association with peers. Through peer relatedness the adolescent is able to consolidate his

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social, personal and sexual identity. Thus, he is able to achieve a sense of self and ego-identity. By this reciprocal consensual validation, each member of the group becomes one who makes sense to those who make sense to him. Such mutual recognition promotes identity formation through the selective repudiation and mutual assimilation of childhood identifications. Adolescence is completed when the individual has subordinated and synthesized his early identifications, infantile conflicts and yearnings, and passive and active strivings into an identity which is a new configuration that is more than the sum of the childhood identifications.

The adolescent's responses to the social stresses of military life are very much determined by what is on his mind. It is not surprising that Darnauer (1976) noted that the adolescents in his study believed that the major negative influences stemming from military life were geographic mobility and the requirement of compliance with army policy regarding personal behavior.

The negative reaction to the military standards of behavior is related to the need to negate dependency on the authority of the father. This dependency is displaced to the military establishment and serves the processes of individuation. The sensitivity to geographic mobility, associated with the task of giving up friends, making new friends and adjusting to new peer groups represents an external stress of social discontinuities which resonates with the intrapsychic discontinuities and transitions of the adolescent process.

Perhaps a brief clinical vignette will illustrate the unusual vulnerability of the mid-adolescent to geographic mobility because of the unique issues with which he is struggling developmentally.

> *A 15-year-old adolescent girl was referred for psychiatric evaluation approximately three months after her family's arrival in Germany. Her parents reported a sudden change in her behavior manifested by truancy, drug use and a runaway to France with her boy friend. Her previous adjustment prior to the family move was characterized as good with generally above average school performance and relatively stable peer relationships. It was evident that the recent move to Germany and the discontinuity in her peer relationships, along with a number of features peculiar to the military community, contributed to the crisis. The overcrowding and cramped space of "stairwell" apartment accommodations extenuated the oedipal concerns of this physically prococious adolescent girl and her father. The confounding of German Law and military regulations regarding in-*

> *dividual accountability undermined her own internal sense of mores. The moral values and standards of conduct of her new peer group were less well-defined and less regulated in the absence of a readily visible jurisdictional system. The need to reestablish status and popularity valence in her new peer group led this girl to sacrifice desperately and uncritically her characteristic pattern of individual conduct for a sense of belonging to the group.*

In this brief clinical vignette we see how the added stress of social discontinuity, imposed on the adolescent process, tips the balance in the direction of the regressive forces. The family move interrupted the process of disengagement from the infantile object and forced her momentarily into a dependent posture in the family. Her flight into pseudo-heterosexuality and independent behavior reflected the activation of defensive processes as a last desperate measure to hold off the regressive pull to infantile dependencies and oedipal longings. It seemed that a dependent position aligned to any peer group irrespective of its explicit value system was preferable to the conflicts associated in her mind with maintaining a dependent position in the family.

Adolescents' efforts to separate from infantile dependencies not infrequently result in a violent rupture and flight from the parents in the declaration of a pseudoindependence. The desperate nature of the process declares the intensity of the passive longings which make such a violent wrench necessary for the youth to sever the family bonds. Acting-out, negativism, poor school performance, runaways, promiscuity, and identity diffusion are often evidence that there has been a failure in separating from infantile dependencies and a failure in individuation (Blos, 1967).

Adolescents' responses to geographic mobility is multidetermined by a complex layering of systemic influences. The intent of this chapter has been to focus on adolescence as a time of particular vulnerability to geographic mobility and social discontinuities because of the developmental requirement for intrapsychic transitions manifested by disengagement from the infantile objects. Among those factors which have to be explored when trying to understand the adolescent's response to geographic mobility is the individual's struggle with the second individuation process, the character of which is multidetermined by a whole complex of epigenetic, familial and biosociocultural variables. The problems of adolescents in the military are best understood as individuals moving through a complex intrinsic developmental process interacting with the social milieu rather than any unique characteristic of the military community.

CHAPTER 2

FAMILIAL AND SOCIAL ROLE PERCEPTIONS OF CHILDREN RAISED IN MILITARY FAMILIES*

Walter G. McIntire
Robert J. Drummond

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American families are exposed to numerous sources of stress which may affect both the child's perception of his parents and the process of sex-role identification. Two such identifiable sources of stress are father absence and geographic mobility. Military families are particularly susceptible to both these sources of stress as military service often requires the father to be absent from his family for extended periods of time and typically requires the family to move periodically.

Many family researchers have also found a relationship between father absence and sex-role development in males. Father absent boys have been described as desperately seeking adult male attention (Cortes & Fleming, 1968; Hodges, McCandless, and Spiker, 1964-1966). More feminine sex-role preferences have also been found among father absent males (Hetherington, 1966; Carlsmith, 1973; D'Andrade, 1973; Biller, 1969). Leichty (1960) reported that in comparison with college men whose fathers were at home during their childhood, their counterparts whose fathers were away in the military, found it more difficult to identify with their father and to take him as their ideal. Hillenbrand (1976) suggested that certain father absence effects depend on sibling sex status. She found significant correlations between father absence and increased quantitative ability, perception of maternal dominance, and maternal identification (for late-beginning father absent males) for first born males but not for younger siblings. Hillenbrand feels that father absence may have some positive effects on the eldest son in the family, while having more adverse effects upon younger siblings.

In regard to mobility and the military, McKain (1973) has reported that many individual family members living in military communities are not well identified with or integrated into either the civilian or military community. He found that this lack of identification with the military community was related to the family members' feelings of alienation which were also associated with marital role tension, marital problems in general, and children's problems. McKain (1973) also reported that moving differentially affected wife-mothers, depending on their feelings of alienation. The alienated wife and husband experience the move "as being filled with negative consequences for themselves, their marriage, and their family; and a year or more later look back on the move as even more troublesome than it seemed at the time" (p. 209). Moving is also significantly correlated with perceived children's problems.

Another important aspect of the military family is a strict authoritarian style household with clear lines of authority toward the father (Lyon and Oldaker, 1967). This style household can be seen as an extension of the father's military role as a strict disciplinarian. Both father absence and military father have been negatively associated with a child's self-concept development. Rosenberg (1965) found that sons of men engaged in authoritarian occupations (i.e., military, police) are unusually low in self-esteem. Coopersmith (1967) found that children of fathers whose employment requires them to be absent frequently manifest a discrepancy between subjective and behavioral self-esteem. This finding was interpreted as being a result of a child's uncertainty concerning himself, rather than as a result of a definite low self-concept (Coopersmith, 1967).

The present study was designed to assess familial and social-vocational role perceptions of adolescents raised in career military families in comparison to a group of adolescents from non-military families. In addition, self-concept data for both groups of adolescents were collected.

Method

The subjects for this study were 117 sophomore students (62 male, 55 female) from a high school in rural northern Maine. Sixty-nine of the students were dependents of personnel assigned to an Air Force Base in the community, and 48 were from local non-military families.

The questionnaire used in this study was distributed to all subjects in school during class. The questionnaire included personal and familial demographic items and a semantic differential (SD) evaluation of 19 social-vocational and familial role or role component concepts. The SD task required the subjects to judge the familial concepts, My Father as: and My Mother as: Successful, Kind, and a Disciplinarian; My Father as a Husband, My Mother as a Wife, Brothers and Sisters, and Myself. The social-vocational concepts presented were: High School, Principal, Class Mates, Guidance Counselors, Teacher, Career Military People, Police, Farmers, and Discipline.

Each concept was rated on ten bipolar, seven-step scales described by verbal opposites (worthless-valuable, good-bad, hard-soft, passive-active, hot-cold, dirty-clean, pleasant-unpleasant, weak-strong, tense-relaxed, and deep-shallow). These bipolar adjective pairs were selected from a list provided by Osgood, Suci and Tannerbaum (1957).

Scores for each individual on each concept were computed by assigning values from one to seven (negative to positive) to each point between the adjective pairs and by summing these values for the ten adjective pairs under each concept.

A two-way analysis of variance was computed on each of the self-concept, family role, and social-vocational role concepts with sex and type of family as main effects. Duncan's Multiple Range Test was utilized to assess significance of interactions between the four groups.

Results

The main effects of the two-way analyses of variance (Sex x Type of Family and Social-Vocational Perceptions of Adolescents) are presented in Table 2.1.

Significant main effect sex differences were found on five of the concepts, two family and three social-vocational. The combined group of females in each case reported a more positive view of Mother as Kind, Mother as a Disciplinarian, Teacher, Farmer, and High School than did the combined group of males.

Significant main effect differences by family type were found on three concepts, one family and two social-vocational. Military dependents viewed Mother as Successful and Career Military as more positive than the native students, while the reverse was true for the concept Farmer.

Table 2.2 presents the mean evaluations of self and familial role perceptions by sex and family status. It shows that male adolescents from military families perceived the concepts Father as Husband, Father as Kind, and Mother as Disciplinarian more positively than did male adolescents from non-military families. Female military dependents perceived the concepts Mother; as Successful, as Kind, and as a Disciplinarian more positively then did male non-military subjects. Female non-military subjects perceived the concepts Father as Kind, and Mother as Disciplinarian more positively than male non-military subjects. No significant differences were found bet-

TABLE 2.1 Analysis of Variance of the Self-Concept, Family and Social-Vocational Perceptions of Adolescents by Main Effects of Sex and Family Type

Concept	*Main Effects F Value* Sex	*Main Effects F Value* Type of Family
Familial		
Myself	.232	.208
Father as Successful	.668	1.313
Mother as Successful	1.566	4.521*
Father as Husband	.306	1.926
Mother as Wife	2.331	.001
Father as Kind	1.364	1.700
Mother as Kind	4.272*	3.076
Father as a Disciplinarian	.014	2.037
Mother as a Disciplinarian	5.872*	2.234
Brothers and Sisters	.955	2.095
Social-Vocational		
High School	7.452**	.661
Principal	.162	.160
Class Mates	2.827	2.550
Guidance Counselors	2.893	.042
Teacher	10.635**	1.173
Career Military People	1.155	7.714**
Police	3.336	.354**
Farmers	7.748	6.442**
Discipline	.395	.661

*$p < .05$.
**$p < .01$

ween any of the groups on the concepts Myself, Father as Successful, Father as Disciplinarian, Mother as Wife, and Brothers and Sisters.

Table 2.3 presents the evaluations of social-vocational role concepts by sex and family status. It shows that male military subjects perceived the concepts High School, Teacher, Police, and Farmers more negatively and Career Military People more positively than female non-military subjects. Only one significant difference was found between male military and male non-military subjects. Male military subjects perceived the concept Farmer more negatively. Table 2 also shows that female military subjects perceived the concepts of Career Military People more positively than either male or female non-military subjects, and that male non-military subjects perceive the concept teacher more negatively than female non-military subjects.

Several patterns or trends in responding also appear in the data. First, although significant main effect sex differences were found only on the familial concepts Mother as Disciplinarian and Mother as Kind, females viewed every familial concept more positively than

TABLE 2.2 Comparison of Self-Concept and Familial Role Perceptions by Family Type.

		Means of Groups		*Significant Differences* *Duncans* *(p . .05)*		
Role	*MM (n = 38)*	*FM (n = 31)*	*MN (n = 24)*	*FN (n = 24)*	*F*	
Myself	46.2	47.9	46.6	46.4	.23	
Father as Successful	51.9	52.0	48.3	51.7	.91	
Mother as Successful	50.7	53.1	48.0	49.2	1.94*	FM-MN
Father as Husband	52.7	50.4	46.2	52.0	2.21*	MM-MN
Mother as Wife	51.2	53.2	50.1	54.3	.88	
Father as Kind	51.6	50.1	45.0	52.2	2.81**	MM-MN, MN-FN
Mother as Kind	50.1	53.4	47.0	50.6	2.34*	FM-MN
Father as Disciplinarian	51.0	49.6	45.8	48.5	.96	
Mother as Disciplinarian	49.9	51.4	43.6	52.4	3.87**	MM-MN, FM-MN, MM-FN
Brothers & Sisters	48.3	48.3	42.3	47.8	1.41	

*p . .10
**p . .05

MM = Male Military
MN = Male Non-Military

FM = Female Military
FN = Female Non-Military

TABLE 2.3 Comparison of Social-Vocational Role Perceptions of Adolescents by Family Type

	Means of Groups				*Significant Differences Duncans ($p < .05$)*	
Role	*MM (n = 33)*	*FM (n = 31)*	*MN (n = 24)*	*FN (n = 24)*	*F*	
High School	46.2	53.5	49.3	54.1	2.88**	FN-FM, FM-FN
Principal	45.2	46.3	46.3	46.9	.18	
Class Mates	47.8	50.7	50.5	54.2	1.90*	MM-FN
Guidance Counselors	46.3	48.5	45.6	50.3	1.14	
Teacher	43.9	49.6	45.4	52.4	4.10**	MM-FM, NM-FN, MN-FN
Career Military People	49.7	52.8	45.1	46.0	2.95	FM-MN, FM-FN
Police	44.8	52.1	47.9	46.3	2.81**	MN-FN
Farmers	46.3	52.7	52.6	55.7	5.25**	MN-FM, FM-FN, MM-FN
Discipline	44.1	44.6	43.8	46.3	.24	

$^{*}p < .10$
$^{**}p < .05$

MM = Male Military
MN = Male Non-Military
FM = Female Military
FN = Female Non-Military

males. Similarly, significant main effects sex differences were found only on the social-vocational role concepts Teacher, Farmers and High School (again, females perceived each of these concepts more positively than males), although females viewed every social-vocational concept more positively than males.

Next, examination of familial role concepts by type of family revealed only one significant difference, military dependents perceived the concept Mother as Successful more positively than non-military adolescents. However, military adolescents viewed every familial concept, except Mother as Wife, more positively than non-military adolescents. Similarly, an examination of social-vocational role concepts shows that non-military subjects view every concept, except Career Military People and Police, more positively than military subjects. Again, on only the concepts Career Military People and Farmers were significant differences found.

When self-concept was examined, no differences were found between types of families. This is contrary to prior findings (Rosenberg, 1965; Coopersmith, 1967) which suggest that children, particularly males from military families might have lower self-esteem.

There are differences by both family type and sex in the perceptions of familial and social-vocational roles. The male military dependent group most often differs from the other groups.

In the family setting these military males report a more positive image of their fathers in the role of husband and their fathers as kind than the male non-military group. At the same time they are more positive in their perception of mother as a disciplinarian than children from non-military families.

There does not appear here to be any evidence of an inability of the male military dependent to identify with father. There is evidence that in terms of the larger social-psychological environment these males are more negative. They score significantly lower on five of the social-vocational roles than other groups. They are more negative than either female group in their perception of their High School and Teachers, more negative than the female military group in assessing Police, and markedly more negative than any of the other three groups in their evaluation of Farmers. These males appear to be more positive about components of family functioning than about the social-vocational environment. This appears to be supportive of the findings of McKain (1973) at least in terms of these males not being closely identified with the civilian community.

The female military dependents appear to be less influenced by their family status. On three familial variables, Mother as Successful, Mother as Kind, and Mother as a Disciplinarian, they are more positive than male non-military children in their evaluations.

They do not differ in their perceptions from their female counterparts on any of the family role components. They do differ from other groups on five social-vocational concepts. They are more positive than their male counterparts on their assessment of High School, Teachers, Police, and Farmers.

They are less positive in evaluating their classmates than their female counterparts, and more positive than either the male or female groups in their perceptions of Career Military people. Overall, they do not differ as dramatically from the female non-military students in their perceptions as their male counterparts do from their male classmates.

The non-military males and females differ on two familial and one social concept, the females perceiving Father as Kinder, Mother more positively as a Disciplinarian, and Teachers more positively.

In summary, the male military dependents appear most influenced by their family status; they appear to be both more positively family-oriented and more negative about social-vocational components of their environment than the comparison groups.

Conclusions

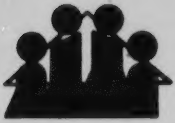
Obviously, the question raised here is best answered by longitudinal assessment. Also, the environment in which this study took place is a very specific one. Comparisons of groups of adolescents in a variety of settings (rural and urban, various branches of the military) would provide more definitive results.

The possibility that different results here and in prior studies may have occurred due to differences in instrumentation cannot be overlooked, or that changes in the social environment of the past decade have influenced these teenagers. Certainly the move to an all-volunteer military and to a period of relative non-belligerency has a potential impact on the respective perceptions of the military and the military dependent of non-military and military populations.

CHAPTER 3

THE ANDROGYNOUS WIFE AND THE MILITARY CHILD

D. Stephen Nice



The intact nuclear family has long been considered one of the primary agents of socialization. The ever-increasing proportion of single-parent families has, therefore, generated a great deal of research in the social sciences. Although there is a recent movement toward the investigation of single parent fathers (cf. Gasser & Taylor, 1976) the vast majority of the research has addressed the issue of father absence. Excellent reviews of this literature (Biller, 1971, 1974; Hetherington & Deur, 1971) indicate that, in general, father absence appears to increase the probability of developmental difficulties, particularly in males.

The effects of father absence per se, however, are often difficult to isolate from such potentially concomitant influences as marital conflict prior to separation, and changes in socioeconomic status subsequent to separation. In addition, the complexity of such variables as the social desirability of the precipitating cause; the duration and frequency of the absence; and the age, sex, and birth order of the child often hampers the generalization of specific research findings. Recently, however, a number of investigators have placed specific emphasis on studying the effects of different kinds and degrees of separation on the child's development (Yarrow, Campbell, & Burton, 1968; Rosenfeld & Rosenstein, 1973).

Father absence in a military setting provides a particularly interesting situation because it is expected, appropriate, and temporary. While one might expect these factors to mitigate against any adverse developmental effects, such separation has been observed to create a "crisis situation which challenges the family's capacity" (Baker, Fagen, Janda, & Cove, 1967). In an extensive study on Stanford University families separated during World War II, Stoltz

(1954) found that war-separated children were more dependent on women, showed more symptoms of anxiety, and more hostile aggression. Upon their return, fathers felt their sons to be unmasculine. In other widely cited studies of Norwegian sailor families, Lynn and Sawrey (1959), and Tiller (1958) demonstrated that boys in the father absent families were more dependent and immature, had less adequate peer relationships, and showed more compensatory overaggressiveness than controls. However, the authors attribute the reported differences not to the absence of the male model but rather to the effects of husband-absence on the mother, as mediated by her to the child. Many of the wives in these families were more isolated from social contacts, overprotective, and more concerned with obedience. In addition Longabough (1973) reports that father absence seems to be associated with both seduction and status envy in the mother-son relationships.

It therefore becomes apparent that during periods of paternal deprivation, the mother-child relationship can hinder adequate personality development. Gabower (1960), studying father absence in military families, found that mothers of children who were behavior problems were less community oriented and less active in helping children find new friends in the area. In a similar investigation, Selpin (1952) observed marked emotional retardation and more behavior disturbance in such boys. In a study on enlisted nuclear submarine personnel, Marsella, Dubanoski, and Mohs (1974) concluded that father presence and absence effects may be mediated to the children by the alterations which occurred in maternal attitudes under these conditions. Peterson (1966) compared the extent of father absence in the histories of a group of emotionally disturbed and a comparable group of normal male children in military families. While the extent of father absence did not differ between the groups, within the disturbed group the degree of father absence was highly correlated with emotional disturbance. This relationship did not hold in the normal group. In addition, the mothers of the disturbed children were significantly more disturbed than the mothers of the normals. This finding lends itself to the intriguing hypothesis that in some instances the effects of father absence may be a function of his inability to mediate between the children and their disturbed mother.

While there is a great deal of evidence to indicate that inappropriate maternal behavior during periods of father absence can severely hamper the children's opportunities for interpersonal growth, few investigators have focused on the positive, rather than the pathological, aspects of separation. This is probably due in part to the fact that "since most personality theory has been derived from work with pathological groups, we are over-sensitized to these aspects in respect both to overt and covert patterning and inadequately sensitized to the stabilizing and maturity inducing aspects" (MacFarlane, 1963). It has recently been suggested, however, that father absence may be fruitfully investigated as a life stress which can be growth-inducing (Hillenbrand, 1976; Lessing Zagorin, & Nelson, 1970; Garmezy, 1974). Similarly, Biller (1974) has urged for research which can be useful for programs designed to maximize the interpersonal and intellectual potential of father absent children and to help mothers to become more effective parents during periods of separation. Thus, the most recent literature seems to indicate that a prevention oriented focus on health, rather than pathology, may be of more pragmatic value than that espoused by the traditional medical model (Hillenbrand, 1976).

However, in order to focus on prevention, it is first necessary to identify those characteristics of "invulnerable" families who adapt and perform competently despite environmental stress. A major criterion for wives to perform competently during separation would appear to be sex role adaptability. While the military husband is deployed, the wife must adopt a dual role of mother and father to the children. Upon the husband's return, she must relinquish this dual role and work toward reintegrating the father into the family unit. Often, however, the wife has some initial difficulty adopting the dual role and subsequently becomes reluctant to give it up. This situation produces stress during both the separation and reunion phases of routine military deployments (Baker, Cove, Fagan, Fischer, & Janda, 1968; Crumley, 1973). Much of this stress, however, could apparently be minimized in families in which the wife displayed sex role adaptability across situations.

In addition to reducing family stress, and its adverse effects on the children, sex role adaptability has been shown to exhibit a direct relationship with the emotional adjustment of the child. Lazowick (1955) found greater "semantic similarity" between the parents of his less anxious subjects than between those of his more anxious subjects. Wechsler (1957) found that subjects who perceived a high degree of role differentiation between father and mother also experienced conflict in their self-perceptions. Finally, Manis (1958) reported that his adjusted subjects saw their parents as more alike than did the maladjusted subjects. Thus it appears that sex role adaptability may affect the children's psychological adjustment in a number of ways.

Sex role adaptability has been shown to be one important characteristic of the psychologically androgynous person (Bem, 1975). The androgynous person is seen to be both instrumental and expressive, both assertive and yielding, both agenic and communal, both masculine and feminine — depending upon the situational appropriateness of these various behaviors (Bem 1974). Bem (1974) has urged researchers in the areas of sex differences and sex roles to question the traditional assumption that it is the sex-typed individual who typifies mental health and to begin focusing on the behavioral and societal consequences of more flexible sex role concepts. She believes that the androgynous individual will some day come to define a new and more human standard of psychological health.

In pursuit of this objective, Bem (1975) has demonstrated the behavior adaptability of the androgynous individual, as well as the behavioral restriction of the person who is not androgynous. Similarly, Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp (1975) found a strong positive relationship between androgyny and self esteem and suggested that possession of a high degree of both masculinity and femininity may lead to the most socially desirable consequences, the absolute strength of both components influencing attitudinal and behavioral outcomes for the individual. In addition, these investigators found that androgynous individuals reported receiving more honors and awards, dating more, and having a lower incidence of childhood illness, than persons who were low in androgyny. Androgynous individuals have also been shown to possess a greater maturity of ego functioning (Block, 1973).

Since there is a great deal of evidence to indicate that androgyny is related to sex role adaptability and perhaps psychological health, this attribute was selected as a potentially useful factor to identify the "invulnerable" family. The purpose of the study reported in this chapter was to investigate the relationship between the androgyny of the military wife and the changes in the social and personal adjustment of her children during periods of father absence incurred through routine separation. Specifically, it was predicted that the children of androgynous women, as measured by the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1974), would show relatively higher adjustment scores, as measured by the California Test of Personality (Thorpe, Clark, & Tiege, 1953), than the children of non-androgynous women. In addition, it was predicted that the children of androgynous women would show more positive, or less negative, change in personality adjustment scores during separation than the children of non-androgynous women.

Method

Subjects

The subjects were 36 families (12 officer and 24 enlisted) of Navy aviator and support personnel scheduled for an eight-month deployment into the Western Pacific aboard a Navy aircraft carrier. Volunteer families with children in grades 1 through 12 were selected from the total population of married officer and enlisted personnel of fighter and attack squadrons assigned to the ship. The average family had two children with a mean age of 9 (range 5 to 16). A total of 53 children participated in the study.

Instruments

The short version of the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1976) was used to identify women on the basis of androgyny. Using this scale, subjects were presented 24 bipolar items and for each were required to rate themselves on a five-point scale. The PAQ consists of the following three subscales a) male-valued, those items which reflect what Parsons and Bales (1955) have called "instrumental behaviors, " b) female-valued, those items which reflect "expressive behaviors," and c) sex-specific, those items which represent a mixture of instrumental and expressive behaviors.*

For the purpose of this study, the sample was divided into two groups. The androgynous group consisted of those women who were above the median in masculine responses to the male-valued items and above the median in feminine responses to the female-valued items. These women possess a high proportion of the characteristics typical of both sexes. The other group was comprised of all other women.

Four age-specific forms of the California Test of Personality (CTP) (Thorpe, Clark, & Tiegs; 1953) were used to assess the children's adjustment. A total of 27 children were administered the primary form (grades kindergarten — third), 19 children took the elementary form (grades 4-7), two children took the intermediate form (grades 8-10), and five children took the secondary (grades 9-12). Each form consisted of a number of questions in a true-false format and was designed to assess total adjustment; social adjustment, with subscales on social standards, social skills, anti-social tendencies, family relations, and school relations; and personal adjustment, with subscales on self-reliance, sense of personal worth, sense of personal freedom, feeling of belonging, withdrawing tendencies, and nervous symptoms.

Procedure

The California Test of Personality was administered to the children in their home 1-4 months prior to the ship's departure and again 1-3 months after the ship's return. This represents a time interval of approximately one year. The Personal Attributes Questionnaire was administered to the wives approximately 4-6 months into the cruise and to the husbands approximately 1-3 months after the ship's return.

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*These subscales have been renamed "Masculinity," "Femininity," and "Masculinity-Femininity" by Spence.

Results

The results of this study will be presented in two parts. The first section will deal with an analysis of specific aspects of the Personal Attributes Questionnaire. In view of the fact that this instrument is relatively new, and the research interest in sex roles and androgyny is burgeoning, it is important to present data on the internal characteristics of the questionnaire. This is particularly important since the original development of the PAQ involved the responses of college students. In order to insure that research involving this instrument can be generalized, other populations, such as the military families in this study, should be tested and reported. The second section will address the primary hypotheses of this investigation.

PAQ Test Characteristics

In order to investigate the relationship between self perceptions and stereotypic male-female perceptions collected on normative populations, the mean self-ratings of men and women were compared for each item of the PAQ. For 18 of the 24 items, t-tests for independent samples revealed significant differences in the self ratings of the two sexes in the direction of the stereotype. Of the 18, 7 of the 8 sex specific items, 5 of the 8 female-valued, and 6 of the 8 male-valued were significant, ($p < .05$). This finding indicates that self-ratings more often than not confirm stereotypic data. These data are consistent with those of Spence, *et al.* (1975).

For each of the three subscales (i.e., male-valued, female-valued, and sex specific) part-whole correlations were computed for men and women separately between each item and the scale to which it was assigned. Significant correlations ($p < .05$), ranging from .30 to .79 were found for every item in both the male and female sample. This finding of internal consistency supports the earlier work of Spence *et al.* (1974, 1975).

Mean scores and standard deviations for male and female subjects on the three subscales of the PAQ are presented in Table 3.1. A *t*-test for independent samples revealed that the sexes differed significantly ($p < .001$) on all three of these measures with men in comparison to women receiving more masculine scores. This finding is also consistent with the work of Spence, *et al.* (1974, 1975).

The intercorrelations of the three subscales also are consistent with the findings of Spence, *et al.* (1974, 1975). In both sexes, masculinity, as tapped by the male-valued scale, is significantly and positively correlated with masculinity on the sex specific scale and

TABLE 3.1 Means and Standard Deviations for Male-Female Differences in the Three Subscales of the PAQ

Scale	Men Mean	Men S.D.	Women Mean	Women S.D.	t (df = 70)	p
Male-Valued	2.923	.574	2.594	.594	3.55	< .001
Female-Valued	1.362	.535	1.047	.488	3.86	< .001
Sex Specific	2.211	.450	1.605	.469	8.28	< .001

with femininity on the female-valued scale. At this point, it should be noted that all scales are scored in a masculine direction. Therefore, a low score on the female-valued scale indicates a high degree of femininity.* This pattern of results, as shown in Table 3.2, suggests that far from being bipolar and negatively related, masculinity and feminity, are , if not orthogonal, actually positively related.

TABLE 3.2 Correlation Matrix of the PAQ Subscales for Men and Women (N = 36)

Scale	Male-Valued	Female-Valued	Sex Specific
MALE-VALUED			
Men		-.329*	.378*
Women		-.363*	.340*
FEMALE-VALUED			
Men			.233
Women			.455**

*p < .05
**p < .01

One final comparison of interest is between the PAQ scores of college men and women and those of military men and their wives, as shown in Table 3.3.

The means of the college men and women and those of the military men and their wives appear extremely close. Unfortunately, standard deviations on the normative group were not reported. Therefore, further statistical analyses were precluded.

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*This scoring procedure was presented in a *Journal Supplement Abstract Service Document*, 1974, *4*, 43. The procedure was subsequently modified such that high scores on the feminity scale indicate a high degree of femininity.

TABLE 3.3 Comparison of the PAQ Subscale Means for Men and Women of College and Military Populations

Scale	*College*	*Military*
MALE-VALUED		
Men	2.77	2.92
Women	2.61	2.58
FEMALE-VALUED		
Men	1.23	1.35
Women	.92	1.04
SEX SPECIFIC		
Men	2.06	2.21
Women	1.65	1.60

Androgyny and Child Adjustment

Although this analysis of the PAQ provides support for the original work of Spence and her colleagues, the primary purpose of this investigation was to explore the relationship between androgynous military mothers and the personality adjustment of their children. In view of the fact that androgynous women have been found to possess greater sex role adaptability, more self-esteem, and greater maturity of ego functioning, it was predicted that the children of these women would demonstrate a higher degree of personality adjustment than the children of non-androgynous women. To test this hypothesis, children of the androgynous and non-androgynous women were compared using multiple *t*-tests for independent samples on each of the 14 subscales of the California Test of Personality. Due to the relatively large number of multiple *t*-tests involved, α was set at .01. This analysis of the predeployment data revealed no significant differences between the groups on any of the subscales of the CTP.

In addition, it was predicted that the children of androgynous women would show more positive or fewer negative personality change scores during the fathers' absence than the children of the non-androgynous women. Multiple *t*-tests for independent samples were again conducted on the pre-to-post change scores of the 14 subscales of the CTP to analyze the differences between the children of androgynous and non-androgynous women. Again α was set at .01 and none of the differences were significant.

Finally multiple *t*-tests for related samples were conducted on each of the 14 subscales of the CTP to analyze the differences between the pre and post deployment scores for each child. As shown in Table 3.4, significant improvement in personality adjustment occurred on 11 of the 14 subscales of the CTP during the period of the fathers' absence.

An analysis of sex differences in the children revealed no significant results.

TABLE 3.4 A Comparison of Pre and Post Deployment Mean Scores on Each Subscale of the CTP

Scale	*Pre Deployment*	*Post Deployment*	*t (df = 52)*	*p*
Self Reliance	67.34	70.55	1.13	NS
Sense of Personal Worth	72.79	82.98	3.26	<.01
Sense of Personal Freedom	70.45	79.17	2.71	<.01
Withdrawing Tendencies	76.08	86.15	3.16	<.01
Freedom From Nervous Symptoms	61.09	65.36	1.31	NS
Total Personal Adusment	66.64	75.32	3.77	<.001
Social Standards	71.47	84.21	4.25	<.001
Social Skills	68.53	76.60	2.69	<.01
Freedom From Anti Social Tendencies	61.83	72.77	2.54	<.02
Family Relations	70.43	83.89	4.43	<.001
School Relations	69.58	80.58	3.37	<.01
Community Relations	75.33	80.57	1.80	NS
Total Social Adjustment	69.94	79.58	5.13	<.001

Discussion

The present study has provided some interesting data regarding the generalization of the Personal Attributes Questionnaire to military populations. Results from this study indicate that self-rated sex role attributes of married, military couples are very similar to those of unmarried college students. In both groups, significant differences in self-ratings occur between males and females in the direction of sex role stereotypes. This similarity lends support to Spence, *el al's* (1975) conclusion that, in the absence of data to the contrary, self-ratings of sex-related attributes can be accorded the same degree of confidence as other self-related measures.

Data from this study also support Spence's (1975) conceptualization of masculinity and femininity as a dualism: each a separate, socially desirable component, present in both sexes, though typically in different degrees. In the present study, mean self-ratings of the two sexes were on opposite sides of the midpoint of the bipolar scales for only 5 of the 24 items. These data are consistent with those of Spence and support her conclusion that it is usually less accurate to characterize men as masculine and women as feminine on a given attribute than it is to describe the sexes as differing in their degree of masculinity on some attributes and their degree of femininity on others.

The data regarding the male-valued and female-valued items are also consistent with those of Spence and her colleagues and are of particular theoretical relevance. Although these two types of items were distinguished empirically by Spence and her colleagues (1974) on the basis of ratings of the ideal male and female, the agency-communion (Bakan, 1966) dichotomy (or the parallel instrumental-expressive distinction of Parson and Bales, 1955) is clearly reflected in their content. Further, the positive correlation in both sexes between femininity on female-valued items and masculinity on male-valued items seems to follow quite directly from the dualistic interpretation of Spence *et al* (1975).

The significant part-whole correlations which were found for both men and women between each item and the scale to which it was assigned, further support the internal consistency of this instrument.

Although these results speak well for the internal validity of the PAQ, this instrument was not effective in predicting a family's invulnerability to stress. It was predicted that the children of androgynous women would have better personality adjustment prior to their father's deployment and that during his absence, they would demonstrate less negative, or more positive change in personality adjustment than children of non-androgynous women. Neither of these hypotheses were supported by the data.

The presence of this null result brings to mind the following three alternative explanations, a) there is no significant relationship between the androgyny of the mother and the personality adjustment of the child, b) there is a relationship between androgyny and child adjustment, but the effect was washed out by uncontrolled, extraneous variables such as child's constitutional characteristics, mother's reaction to husband-absence, quality of mother-child interactions, or the availability of surrogate models, or, c) there is a relationship between androgyny and child adjustment, but the dependent measure (i.e., the CTP) was not sensitive enough to pick it up. Unfortunately, the correct alternative cannot be identified at this time. The broad scope of this pilot study and the relatively small sample size could not allow for the instrumentation and control required to selectively eliminate these alternatives.

The results did indicate, however, that during the deployment, the children manifested significant gains in their overall personality adjustment. Although the lack of a control group precludes definitive statements concerning the relative extent of this growth, or the effects of variables such as history, testing, or maturation, it is clear that personality development increased rather than decreased during the period of father absence. This finding lends support to the relatively small but growing amount of evidence which suggests the possibility that father absence may be associated with some positive effects. Gregory (1965), for example, found that many college students with a history of paternal absence were academic achievers. Peterson (1966) found suggestive evidence in male military dependents that father absence may facilitate emotional adjustment in some normal boys. And Garmezy (1974) in his studies of stress-resistant, competent children, observes that "father absence is not an uncommon feature" (p. 107).

Considering the relative paucity of research directed toward the effects of temporary father absence and the complex nature of this phenomenon, it would be wise at this time to plan systematic, longitudinal studies in this area while guarding against the Type III error which Herzog and Sudia (1971) define as "the erroneous belief that available evidence is adequate to support a firm and generalizable conclusion" (Herzog & Sudia, 1971, p. 91).

CHAPTER 4

THE ABSENT PARENT AND THE RORSCHACH "T" RESPONSE

Gael E. Pierce

During a recent Rorschach Workshop, John Exner, Jr. (1974), stated that his research has seemed to indicate that the Rorschach texture (T) response differed from the norm for rejected children or children with an absent parent during the ages from birth to five years. If the parent is absent during that critical age period, the "T" response tends towards zero; if the parent is absent after age five, there is, conversely, a surplus of "T" responses.

Under the Comprehensive System (Exner, 1974) the absence of a "T" response indicates extreme affective impoverishment early in life so that the person no longer strives for deep or meaningful interpersonal experiences. Exner has since changed this view somewhat to indicate that the "T" response is, in fact, a better measure of dependency needs. In general, the "T" response is best interpreted as indicating needs for affective interpersonal contact — a form of cautious reaching out for affectively rewarding relationships. It is more infantile than adult, and more common to late adolescence. When frequent, the needs are intense and disruptive (Exner, 1974).

As a school psychologist with the Department of Defense Dependent Schools on Clark Air Force Base in the Philippine Islands, I was in an excellent position to test this theory with children who had absent parents, especially fathers in the military. Many of the fathers were in Vietnam for a year or more, and many of these children were referred to our Guidance Center.

The population of the study reported in this chapter consisted of 52 children (40 males, 12 females) who had been referred to the Guidance Center either by the school or by parents. The children ranged in age from six to seventeen with a mean age of 12.2 years. All had experienced an absent parent when aged seven years or below. Forty-two had absent fathers, 7 had absent mothers, and for 3, both parents were absent. Within the group 29 fathers were absent because they were serving in the military, 11 fathers were absent due to divorce, and two fathers had died. All of the children were given the Rorschach which was scored and interpreted using the Comprehensive System. Mean scores and standard deviations were compiled, even though statisticians and others warn against the use of means from ratios because of the variability in numbers of responses. For this study, the mean response (R) was 20.25 with an S.D. of 6.74.

In examining the "T" responses, there was a total of 16 T's in 7 of the 52 protocols for a mean score of .23, which fell well below the norm of .32. The standard deviation (.67) was high because of the seven who gave a T response, two gave three each, and one subject gave two T's. If these three protocols are dropped, the mean for the group drops to .06.

It would appear that children with an absent parent learn to achieve affective control through a form of guardedness based on defensiveness. They seem to pay for this affective control with a rejection of conventionality (the mean P response was 4.83), a lack of organized responses, and a surplus of forces impinging on them or not working for them. Where affect is concerned, they seemed to be able to organize it, accept it, but then backed off from it. Strong affective constriction also seemed to be part of the price they were forced to pay for containment of feelings normally given and received via the absent parent. The results seemed to indicate that also included in the price of learning to cope with an absent parent is an impairment of perceptual accuracy. This deficit may be due to an "anger effect," perhaps brought about by the negative affect state caused by the very fact of the absence.

This conclusion is supported in part by the low "T" response and indications of dependency needs. Additionally, these children's protocols showed much more anxiety and/or helplessness than is normal for their age group — nearly four times as much. They also revealed a low self focus, much lower than normal, which seems to emphasize the low EB as a possible measure of ego development and low egocentricity. In terms of ego and affect flexibility, findings based upon these children seemed to indicate that having a parent absent during the critical years from birth to seven years of age hindered later development and accentuated dependency needs.

A search was made in the Free Association in the protocols for a similarity in responses on Plates # IV (authority) and # VIII (femaleness), but none was found, although many of the unflattering responses came on the plate that matched the absent parent.

Even though the small sample makes conclusions highly tenuous an examination was made of the subgroups within the total sample. In summarizing the responses of the children with an absent father due to military service (N = 29), it was found that based on the children's scores the absent father does appear to have an adverse effect on the children. Data for the children with mean ages between 11 and 12 seemed to indicate many more forces impinging on them, with affect discharged internally. There were indications of much affective constriction and a tendency to withdraw from affective stimuli. The children also showed much frustration and anxiety or helplessness, and a high negative affect state (The norm for S is 1.1; this group scored 2.8).

What appeared to have happened was that this group had learned to control affective responses by a form of internal discharge of affect, and by becoming introversive and excessively conventionally oriented. These children had become thinking (internal) individuals rather than affective (outgoing) ones.

In other words, in order to cope with an absent father at an early age, these children turned to a cognitive form of personality with constricted affective urges and expressions. Although they became internalizers, they also bent and distorted reality and did not dwell on self focus or egocentricity. This situation resulted in a great deal of stress, helplessness, and dependency, with which the children nonetheless learned to cope. Perhaps this process is part of the crucible that produces the type of character that possesses the ability to handle stress of combat and military life.

The children of fathers absent because of divorce (N = 11), unlike the children of absent military fathers who seemed able to invent an internal world and survive, seem to suffer more psychological pain perhaps partly a result of their attempting to set goals beyond their abilities. It also appeared that children with fathers in the military gained some measure of pride in the father's absence, while children of fathers absent because of divorce often internalized guilt feelings from assuming part of the blame for the ruptured marriage. Thus, these latter children seemed to withdraw both from affective stimuli and much social interaction, and become cautious and defensive.

The total group (N = 52) showed a mean S response frequency which compares with those of *patients* for that age group and is much higher (2.58) than the norm of 1.10. This finding again indicates a negativism which could impinge on the children's reality contacts and create an "anger effect" which could account for the poor form quality. This conclusion is further supported by the primitive FM and m responses. Forty-three of the children gave one or more S responses, with 21 giving three or more (SD = 2.23). These 21 children who gave the surplus S responses had a F + % mean score of 57.52 which could very well account for the total low F + %.

Finally, the protocols were examined to see which children did and which did not give the "T" responses. No clear reason was found for the three "T" responses in the 36 children under five years of age when the parent was absent, except that two were boys and still enuretic, and all three were dyslexic. The mean "T" response for this group was .08, supporting the theory of a low to absence of "T" responses when a parent was absent prior to age five.

Of the group of children who were five years of age and over when the parent was absent, only four children gave "T" responses (3, 1, 2 and 3 each). These data give a mean "T" response of .56, nearly double the norm. But then the question arises, why did not the rest of this group have a surplus of "T" responses instead of zero "T" similar to the under five group? Part of the answer may be in that 10* out of the 16 had lost a mother, 8 through parental divorce, and 2 mothers had died. It could very well be that loss of a mother moves the zero "T" response upwards in age since these seven children were between the ages of 6-7 when the mother-loss occurred.

This study also seems to support Exner's theory that there will be a zero "T" response when the parent is absent before the child reaches age five. However, there seem to be exceptions when the parent is absent when the child is over five, in that an absent mother appears to prolong the lack of "T" in Rorschach responses.

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*This figure is higher than the figure "absent mother = 7" because three of these mothers divorced the father while he was overseas. The absent parent counted in the study was the *first* parent absent.

CHAPTER 5

COMMUNITY SERVICES, THE MILITARY FAMILY, AND CHILD DEVELOPMENT

Barbara Wheatland

Reentry education* has become a process of access and opportunity for persons whose education has been interrupted or uncompleted to pursue further academic and career development. It is the process of continuing education with life-long learning opportunities as provided for in the Education Amendments of 1972. This chapter explores the impact on the community where reentry programs have been in operation with child development centers. It was prepared in response to the growing and continuing needs of the education practitioners of all levels and of the community. It serves as a response to Santa Clara educators for understanding the distinguishing features between child development and child care services and legislative and fiscal decision makers who set values for society by the allocation of funds.

Goals of the Study

From the description of the problems in operating appropriate child development programs for families of the armed forces and from the rationale for extending knowledge for improvement of the situation, the study reported in this chapter sought to (a) investigate the components and benefits of the model REP/CDC which could be instituted by the Department of Defense (DOD) on armed forces sites; (b) examine the demonstrated qualities of child development centers for meeting needs of adults and children who are members of military families, and (c) document the capabilities of REP/CDC for replication and adaptation in various settings (such locations as a campus, a residential community, or specialized facility, including military installations).

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*In this report the terms used will separate Women's Reentry Educational Program as WREP from the Reentry Educational Program for all students as REP. For the programs coordinated with a child development center, the terms used will be WREP/CDC or REP/CDC.

The information for this study has been gathered from public documents, interviews with principal participants and on-site observations. A survey was also made of the public records of reentry and child development programs in Santa Clara County under Title I (HEA, 1965). In the review, the grant proposals, reports to funding agencies, and published materials to institutions and community were examined. The study also involved a series of semistructured interviews. Additional parents and representatives of child development centers were also interviewed, and recorded observations were made from the National Task Force for Child Care in the Military at the 1976 National Association for Education of Young Children Conference.

History of Reentry Education

The reentry education programs were begun in the Santa Clara Valley where the cities of Sunnyvale and Cupertino are served by DeAnza Community College. Sunnyvale, an industrial, residential city of 107,000 with electronic plants, Lockheed, Westinghouse, NASA, and Moffett Field, as well as the remnants of agriculture and Libby canning, is the second largest city in Santa Clara County. The population is 17 percent ethnic minority with a lesser percentage of economic culturally disadvantaged amidst the population with a median income of $14,911 — just over the county-wide median of $14,464 (U.S. Special Census, 1975). The majority of these families have been described in an SRI report (SRI Report, 1971) as the affluent, electronic-engineer, Lockheed syndrome families.

The community college also serves the bedroom community of Cupertino with employment mainly in the electronic firms, 93 percent Caucasian, and median income of $20,215. The college attendance area is spread over seven municipalities and constitutes a good sample. The common denominator of this population derives from the opportunities of post-secondary education. Therefore, the importance of the reentry program evolves in overcoming the barriers to full participation. Ethnicity and economic needs compound the problems which are those of the educationally disadvantaged who did not realize their capabilities to use the community college for their personal, academic, or career development and advancement. The Women's Reentry Educational Program was begun in 1970, with the first effort a Consumer-Homemaking course funded under the Vocational Education Act, 1968. With complementary Title I Higher Education Act (HEA) funding between 1971-74, broader goals and a full range of support services were developed for the pilot WREP including the vital child development center.

The Tile I (HEA) funding, 1971-74, also provided an outreach capacity for expanding the programs to other community colleges of the Santa Clara Valley. Each WREP initiated replication of the philosophy, academic and support components which required the institutions to incorporate a new approach to meet student needs for each different geographic area and population. Each adaptation was made for the diverse needs and problems of women, their children and families.

Subsequently, the WREP/CDC Title I (HEA) consultant team assisted in program development for over 30 community colleges, other state colleges and universities of California and in five other states. WREP was proclaimed a Congressional model (U.S. Congressional Record, 1973) to assist the Community Colleges establish the WREP as the model for the state system to develop continuing education for all non-traditional students, in addition to the pilot population focus of educationally disadvantaged women (California Community Colleges, 1974).

The study of REP/CDC includes military families. The Child Development Center was the primary support service,required by the women who had small children, in order that they could fulfill the dual responsibilities of family and adult personal growth. Among the women of the reentry program in the several communities of Santa Clara Valley were wives of servicemen living in the residential area, wives who lived on base with their families, women who had served in the armed forces, and women who were currently service personnel and had children. A representative number of these women had just come to the United States, and reentry involved language and cultural uniqueness.

An empirical assessment considers the seven year period between 1971 and 1977 from the inception of WREP through the continually evolving forms of REP/CDC. Experience from the pilot and the subsequent REP/CDC established in Santa Clara County includes the Village Avante Child Development and Adult Training Programs serving a bilingual and multicultural community in a HUD housing complex in Morgan Hill, California. This area is rural, semi-urban with few industrial and transportation supports. It is undergoing a rapid growth of residential building, double sessions for schools, a high tax rate, and displacement of the agricultural occupations (San Jose Mercury, 1977).

The Reentry Educational Program/Child Development Centers (REP/CDC) of California present a demonstrated approach, which is designed and established to meet the needs of both the adults and their children. REP/CDC was an undeveloped concept before 1970, when it emerged as a pilot in the California Community Colleges. We shall also relate the essential support functions of the child development program to the factors of family life which have demonstrated beneficial results for the participating military families.

The REP/CDC model encompasses Community-Family Guided Education (Wilson, 1971), which presents a philosophical position on effectiveness of human development based on the qualities of parents as the first teachers of their children and of the total community as teacher-participants in education. A comparison is made of the essential components that form a child development program with existing child care now available in the military. A further comparison is made with a historical review of successful examples suitable for replication for families in the Armed Services.

Related Literature and Rationale

The investigation of reentry child development services for families in the military was stimulated by prior research (Slobodin, 1975) regarding the experiences of Drs. Edith Dowley and Lois M. Stoltz in the Kaiser Child Service Centers of Oregon during World War II. Slobodin's work established that the federal government helped to finance such child care programs at that time. At Kaiser the fees to parents were low, with the remainder of the operating costs borne by the Kaiser Company; the net costs were added to the operating cost of the shipyard, then absorbed by the government through the purchase of the ships. "In addition, the original costs of financing the construction of the child centers were paid for by the United States Maritime Commission" (Slobodin. 1975).

Other locations and child care centers generally were provided for under the Lanham Act, making financing available for the so-called "war nurseries." The quality of the Kaiser Child Services is credited to Edgar Kaiser who insisted that the salary schedule of the Lanham Act was too low, and Kaiser had the teachers paid in keeping with wages at the shipyard as a whole. The Kaiser center thus was able to attract the most highly skilled professionals in the field (Slobodin, 1975). Other features of these Kaiser Child Service Centers were an infirmary, counseling, location near work sites, temporary care in emergencies, 24 hour care, nutritionally balanced meals cooked in the center's kitchen for use either in the center or packaged to take home, and informational booklets on care, recipes, mending and shopping services (Slobodin, 1975).

There was a thoroughness in planning and attention to beauty and to purpose. The architectural design placed the children in context with the place where their mothers worked. This feature is considered by Slobidin as "preserving, in a measure, the age and role integration of the family," and is referred to currently by such leading experts as Urie Bronfenbrenner and Bruno Bettelheim (Slobodin, 1975). Responsiveness to the family and children's needs was a factor valued in the World War II program that also predominates in the RDP/CDC, and which this author offers as a hypothesis to meet the needs of military families. The hypothesis echoes Slobodin's view of Henry Kaiser, "It will be easier to find those who have the necessary planning skills than it will be to find those in a position of power with the same commitment. It is relatively easy to adopt a successfully established working model. It is a lot harder to duplicate the same sense of priority, motivation, and leadership that made it all possible" (Slobodin, 1975).

As the limited resources of our earth become more apparent and population trends change, the perceived value of our children may be realigned. Currently, under the value system described by Lois and Martin Hoffman (Hoffman & Hoffman, 1973), "The value of children can be thought of as the functions they serve or the needs they fulfill for parents." The Hoffmans list eight categories of noneconomic values of a psychological nature that parents derive from children or motives in wanting them. In the ninth category are the values of children as economic assets. The economic benefits are delineated by Harvey Leibenstein (Leibenstein, 1963) as a source of financial security in old age or emergencies and as productive agents.

For many women, children have been the fulfillment of a socially-defined, acceptable role. In addition, the Hoffmans' list includes: children contribute to the personal growth of their parents, a sense of being needed, contribution to the good of others, form emotional security with the permanent institution of the family, stimulate exciting novelty and action to relive their own youth, bring achievement with creativity and competency, offer power and influence over others, and elevate social prestige and prowess. These values could be especially important in modern society where increased geographic mobility and growing bureaucracies threaten individual identities and enhance a feeling of impersonality (Hoffman and Hoffman, 1973).

The concept of costs is also described and corresponds to the disadvantages of having children. Economic costs are of two types: direct maintenance costs of bearing and raising children, and the opportunity costs (Mueller, 1973). Three categories of opportunity costs are cited: relinquishing certain consumption expenditures, resulting in a lower standard of living; reducing opportunities to save and invest; and the wife giving up income-earning possibilities. Noneconomic costs include emotional and psychological burdens (Population Bulletin, 1977). Women suffer from all of these factors, and it is our contention that Reentry Education/Child Development Programs are prudent, both in human and in economic terms.

The value and costs of raising children, specifically in the United States, are discussed in several studies which consider whether raising children is perceived by the parents as being fairly easy economically, somewhat of a burden, or a heavy financial burden; by a list of reasons for wanting a desired number of children; and by preference of sex for progeny (Population Bulletin, 1977). The direct maintenance costs (which are for childbirth, raising to age 18, and a four year college education) are estimated by data provided by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), and up-dated to 1977 by Reed and McIntosh with Consumer Price Index Information from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The item of housing is now generally the leading cost in child-rearing, followed by food and then transportation (Population Bulletin, 1977).

These data point to an investment in our children, showing the child value to parents and country in our society. Particularly when the substance for the family is under the direct authority and responsibility of government financing, as in the military, the quality of child development services is considered essential to be judged for effective delivery. The present study is concerned with specifying the qualities of a proven-approach reenforcement of family values by utilizing the model of reentry for adults and corresponding child development programs in the new setting of military residential and working sites.

Investigations have not been actively pursued to bring adequate programs of this nature to families of the Armed Services. The Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) had only two citations regarding child care in the military: George Corey, 1971, and David Nesenholtz, January, 1976. Corey studied the needs of children living on military installations. He pointed out the difficulties of offering child care programs where the government has not seen fit to include the military "into certain social welfare programs of welfare programs whereby child development would be provided (Corey, 1971). He lists the problems rising from regulations that all day care must be "selfsustaining" with parents paying for the programs. This is felt as a hardship by personnel in the low-pay ranges of service. No federal programs supply funds directly to the military for day care, he reports. Therefore, even those programs that he found to exist were not reaching those who often need it most. Corey's conclusion, which may differ from the evidence of REP/CDC, where the need for child development programs is not limited to the economic ability of the family to secure services, but is likely to include family stress and problems in areas of nurturing, as indicators of need for a program like REP/CDC. In any case, both areas of need are represented in the armed forces. Corey identified appropriation problems for facilities that should be safe physical environments for children. The lack of standards for licensing and for the type and quality of child care were emphasized. His general conclusion was that programs are underfunded and lack coordination. Corey also cited servicemen at poverty levels and asserted that some of the problems related to servicemen who have been forced to go on Welfare could be eased by increase of family income "by having the woman assume some working responsibility and at the same time providing the child with an educational curriculum" (Corey, 1971). The demonstrated success of REP/CDC for both of those needs is realistic for assisting military families.

A more recent review by David Nesenholtz (1976) carries similar statements about the picture of child care systems operated on the Department of Defense (DOD) facilities. Nesenholtz sent questionnaires to 153 centers operating as non-appropriated fund programs and received 30 responses. As a result of this survey, he found wide variances in services and standards from those that would be expected in the civilian provisions for children. He also reported no special training for the teachers and aides. He concluded that "there appear to be two chief reasons that account for the difficulty in maintaining adequate quality day care programs on military facilities. The first reason is the problem of transience. In terms of survey data, it is evident that a high percentage of children in military day care are drop-ins. This characteristic creates difficulties in maintaining a continuity of curriculum during the day. The children who, themselves, are dropped-in may feel rejected or frightened, creating still further demands on staff. Discontinuous days, as well as discontinuous weeks and months, place stress upon the care-giver-child relationship, and add frustrations and anxiety to an already high-risk set of circumstances" (Nesenholtz, 1976).

The second reason for the inadequate day care programs is the military "nonappropriated fund status." Nonappropriated funds are used for recreational services that must, in most cases, be self-sustaining or profit making. It is a concern of the present study to examine ways to provide child development prospects for military premises which bring complementary resources. The REP/CDC model has been shown as transportable to a variety of situations and locations and could be proposed as adaptable to the needs of military installations.

In regard to the preparation of personnel to staff child development programs, another project in New York merits recognition. Beverly Fuchs writes about the training of Family Day Care Mothers under funding of the Vocational Educational Act (VEA) of 1968, at the State of New York Agricultural and Technical College, Farmingdale. Where many mothers of family day care suffer from isolation, they have special "needs to share problems,

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get ideas for solutions, have more self-confidence, and feel that they are not just babysitters" (Fuchs, 1975). To meet the needs, the New York project employed a variety of educational techniques and a curriculum of basic topics. The educational and cultural backgrounds and experiences were diversified. Such consideration required teaching "active mothering" as something good, valuable, and fun. Specific information about child growth and development was also the subject matter for classes and on-site training to individual needs. An important decision was made that the training could best be run by an independent institution rather than by the child care agency itself. The greater advantages of the independent institution were seen to include "prestige, the possibility of granting credit, greater resources, and a confidentiality between instructors and students that could never exist if the instructor were paid by the agency" (Fuchs, 1975). The similarities to the California REP/CDC training accentuates the research expectations of benefits.

RESULTS

The interviews with both the parents and professional participants of the child development programs supplied data for the REP/CDC study about the activities over a seven year period. Grant proposals, reports to the funding agencies, and reports for workshops contained a combination of planning material and of successful practices. The goals, objectives, and concepts of both the non-traditional approaches and the sound education about child growth and development were found in these publications. It is important to recognize the practical implications of this study for the establishment of child development programs in a variety of settings. The components of the REP/CDC model can be described as administrative, curricular, and financial. These components serve two functions: the development of children and the corresponding development of their parents. The reinforcement of family strength results in increased capacity for roles of leadership, confidence, and communication. Personal competency is increased in relationships with a variety of people and in diverse situations. Moreover, the improved integration of the family adds to the efficiency and effectiveness of men and women in their work and other life situations.

Benefits to be derived from similar child development for families on armed forces sites are grouped in three areas:

Adjustment within the Community

- New peer groups for both adult and child provided a stable association balancing the continual process of establishing home and social life at new locations either on the base or in the surrounding area.

- The physical change of location and the social remoteness as a condition of living was bridged through the use of community resources for the child development program, aiding the parent in securing services for the family.
- Child development services provided time for the adult to participate in and contribute to the broader community.
- The assimulation of differing cultural and language skills on a daily basis promoted growth for the members of families moving into different sections of the United States, into other countries, and coming to the United States from other countries.

Adjustment Between Persons

- The child development program provided nurturing functions for security within self, the interdependence of caring and sharing, and a sense of community.
- Social strength gained by sharing knowledge and services promoted a common goal of self-determination. Self-determination was the quality recognized among the reentry students which carried with it their mutual interest, warmth and caring-basis for friendship.

Adjustment within the Family

- Use of community resources for emergencies eased the difficult task for military families to connect with agencies and individuals who could be helpful in time of stress and crisis.
- Where the mother and younger child attended the child development center, their expanded skills and knowledge about education were helpful to the parents in assisting the dependent children in their school experiences regardless of ages.
- The child development program relationships supported the parent in management of the family during the absence of the husband.
- As child services were available, free time for the adult allowed pursuit of individual desires and needs for self-actualization through academic, creative, and career development.
- Child development center activities opened an occupational field for employment through parent par-

ticipation in the program of the center, involvement in the governance and advisement of the program, and the required education about child growth and development.

- As the adult acquired the necessary information and skills as a parent, the satisfaction and enjoyment of children increased.

A REPLICATION OF THE REP/CDC MODEL

Programs replicating the model have used the complementary selection of program elements and matching multiple sources of funding. The Village Avante Bilingual/Bicultural CDC and Adult Training Project (City of Morgan Hill), for example, has constructed its program in an off-campus location. The project uses existing buildings with small modifications at a HUD housing complex. The project of Village Avante has expanded from the initial child development center and parent training to provide employment opportunity through funds of the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA), as well as a career ladder approach to education for the bilingual and/or non-traditional student whose exposure to education has been limited (Luksus, 1976). During the summer months, manpower monies (SPEDY) are also used to provide employment and training for economically disadvantaged youth in the community.

The purpose of the adult program was to design and implement a bilingual para-professional program for teacher-aides. The program focused on the training and/or retraining of unskilled, bilingual adults (both men and women) to help them fill the critical needs for well-prepared workers within their own community. The strategy has been to develop basic educational skills and bilingual competencies to a degree that qualifies the participant for occupational training in an educational setting. The child development center functions as the laboratory and source of employment for the adult students. The work allows opportunity for individual development, regardless of the traditional credentials or other arbitrary symbols of status, and permits advancement to instruction and duties of greater challenge and responsibility (Luksus, 1976).

Like the CDC model at De Anza, the Village Avante child services are under a grant from the California State Department of Education, Office of Child Development. This funding operates a full-day program for children from 2.5 to 6 years of age. An auxillary Extended Day Care Program uses the same funding for children 6 to 14 years of age. The same standards, services, and child development concepts are provided for both age groups. A further expansion of service established a cluster of Family Day Care Homes, using the CDC as a guiding and supporting program to train the mother-teachers. This funding is from state special legislation to develop alternative delivery systems. Currently, Village Avante is concerned with program possibilities for the older youth. Senator Birch Bayh (Bayh Report, 1977) clearly stated the extent of the problems of youth. The need to decrease juvenile delinquency and crime is prevalent in our local community, in the military, and in our national society.

CONCLUSIONS

This study reported in this chapter found that the manner in which reentry accomodates the adult student with supportive services, the major one being the Child Development Center, shows that the military mother's need for child development services paralleled that of the typical reentry student. For the purposes of Child Development Programs, non-traditional students with unique needs are considered as all those whose parenting education, as well as personal and academic development, has been interrupted. Information from the interviews continually attested to the need for improved services for child development in order that parents might obtain further experiences for parenting education that is lacking or unsatisfactory in nature in most provisions for child care in the military. Program personnel and parent participants alike stated that armed forces provisions for dependents in the area of child services were inadequate, concurring with the previous researchers' data.

Encouragement and incentive to develop realistic approaches for military use came from Mrs. Tana Brende, executive director of the National Task Force for Child Care in the Military. This organization is dedicated to create an information exchange on programs, administration, standards, and regulations; improve standards of child care on military installations and advocate Department of Defense monies for child care. Nesenholtz estimates 22,000 children of military personnel are receiving care. He adds reliable evidence of the types of needs to be met in advocating appropriated funds for child care centers be specifically included in the DOD budget for "a high quality of service to support the special stress of military life on children, support the need of some military wives to work, and serve military families at prices they can afford" (Nesenholtz, 1976). The Task Force has made presentations for the last three years at the conference of the National Association for Education of Young Children. Comments of the Task Force at NAEYC and documents by Corey in 1971, are reaffirmed by Nesenholtz in January, 1976. The NAEYC meeting of November, 1976, specified the same needs and problems. The difficulties suffered for this length of time without resolution denotes that a new approach would be beneficial.

From the investigation of REP/CDC during a similar period of seven years, the model and its adapted replicas using the REP concepts and application of services have been operating through postsecondary institutions. The following elements were found to match the needs of the military in order to conduct quality child development programs:

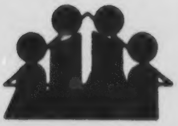
- Through experience, the reentry consulting team has skills in outreach and program development that have demonstrated success.
- The reentry/child-development programs have experience with military family needs and with participants who demonstrate language, cultural, and community diversity.
- The administration of REP/CDC has been a pilot in which continued adaptation aided the program to improve and included services shown to be needed by participants. It also provided a model in which the essential parts were known and could be transported to another situation or area. Finally, it incorporated programs established in other colleges and in the community itself.
- The curriculum of child development centers using the reentry approach has proved to be realistic for families of differing ethnic and economic groups.
- Reentry is evolved with all the levels of adult training and career development which the consulting team is prepared to utilize for instituting new programs appropriate for armed forces sites. This training capability would assist in the establishment of standards and the practical ability of staff to perform under them.
- Expertise in securing funding from a variety of public sources for the components of the programs and for bringing the services of community agencies to the reentry and child development can be demonstrated in constructing programs for the military centers.
- The sense of mission and commitment necessary to pioneer, develop, and radiate the enabling use of this kind of service for families are kindred to military precepts.

The challenge is similar to the large-scale, long-range effort described in Project Talent, begun in 1959 "to determine the best methods for identification, development, and utilization of human talent" (Flanagan, 1962). Reentry programs define the new dimensions for adults with their needs for development and require services to enhance the talents of both adults and children of contemporary families. The experienced consulting team from postsecondary education has shown the wide array of services and resources which can be applied to development of consistent standards and comprehensive programs for use of the armed forces, as well as the broader community.

CHAPTER 6

MIXED CHILDREN: SOME OBSERVATIONS AND SPECULATIONS

Ann Baker Cottrell



Cross-cultural marriage is a steadily increasing phenomenon in the modern world. Yet the sociological literature on this topic is limited, and even less information is available on the important question of how cross-cultural parentage affects children. The latter question is one of particular significance to the military because of the relatively large number of children with cross-culturally married parents; one scholar Ruth Hill Useem, estimates such children are about one-third of the school population in the Pacific DOD area.* As military families form fairly tightly knit communities and many military children are educated in DOD schools, the question of how mixed children feel about themselves, and therefore how they behave and relate to others becomes an important one for the services.

Research on Mixed Children

Only two small studies concerning children of mixed couples in the military and one other which mentions such children are known to me (Chang, 1974; Spaulding and Cantrell, 1974; Druss, 1965). Therefore, this paper will first discuss findings of research on children of mixed parents (interfaith and interracial as well as international) and, second, raise questions regarding the experience of children with cross-national parents in the military. Observations in the first part of this paper are drawn from existing literature and from my research on children of British-Indian/Pakistani couples in Britain.*

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*In private correspondence Ruth Hill Useem, who has been studying children of Americans living abroad, states: "My best estimate is that about a third of the children in the Pacific DOD area are the children of cross-cultural marriages. I got these figures from local schools. This has increased since the last US Census (1970) because the Volunteer Army is apt to be made up of persons who have such marriages. I am less sure of the European DOD schools, but know it is fairly high for Germany and England."

Mixed Children are Troubled Children

Reviewing the literature on children of mixed parents one can conclude that such children are doomed to be deeply troubled individuals. As Berman notes, "writers on mixed marriage can find one area on which they can agree . . . mixed marriages are not well adapted to raising children" (1968, p. 554).

Reports concerning mixed children focus primarily on problems of identity. Children who have a split or dual heritage experience both social and psychological marginality making it difficult, if not impossible, to answer the question "who am I?" Some children grow up feeling they belong nowhere; others are torn by a sense of loyalty to two, often conflicting groups and belief systems. Cases are reported in which the children have become the battleground in "wars" between families, or even between parents. Albert Gordon, a rabbi and social scientist who has studied mixed marriages states:

> *. . . [that] my experience with the children of mixed marriages has led me to believe that, more often than their well-intentioned parents may realize, such children are faced with problems which tend to produce within them reactions of guilt, insecurity and emotional instability (1964, p. 321).*

His analysis of one young man's problems is representative of such reports:

> *. . . with him the fact that he had never identified either with his mother's church or his father's made him a 'nothing.' He was simply not a real person. He was a 'nobody' with no respect for himself as a person. He was always tense, anxious, ill-at-ease and had no desire to acquire any learning or take any courses that would ultimately lead to a degree. "What was the use," he asked, "I'm a nothing. Everybody should be something and I'm just a plain big nothing" (Gordon, 1964, p. 319).*

Such personal insecurity is seen to be manifest in various kinds of pathological behavior — either withdrawal, apathy, lack of achievement, or aggressive, disruptive, deviant behavior and sometimes even criminal behavior. To quote Gordon again:

> *Children of mixed marriages may express their insecurity in many different ways. They may be highly irritable,*

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*This study was supported, in part, by the American Philosophical Society.

> *overly sensitive, hostile either directly or indirectly, negative in their responses to other persons, suspicious of others verbally or even express guilt feelings in one of many different ways. Parents may not always recognize any of these symptoms, yet psychiatrists have informed me that they believe that they exist more frequently in the children of mixed marriages than in others (1964, pp. 321-2).*

There are numerous reports of case studies tracing an individual's behavior problems to her/his mixed background (Batta, 1976, Berman, 1968; Piskacek & Golub, 1973). David Batta, a social worker in England, supports this relationship with truly striking data from the Department of Social Services in Bradford. He found that:

> *The half-coloured had by far the highest rate for juvenile delinquency at almost five times the rate for the Asian group and double the rate for the remainder of the population. In addition, more of the half-coloureds were multi-offenders. In particular, the half-Asians had a ratio of approximately four indictable offenses to every non-indictable one, approximately two to one for all other groups (1976, p. 3).**

He concluded that:

> *. . . the most likely cause of the higher rate of crime amongst the half-coloured may be due to an internal conflict of identity . . . he is not coloured because his mother is white, born in England, he is English. He shares with whites their customs and tradition and amusements. He makes every effort to affiliate himself with the whites with whom he claims his kinship while denying his ties with the coloured people, but he finds himself more and more disadvantaged all around. Whites do not accept him as one of their own and he repudiates coloureds (Batta, 1976, p. 4).*

Also arguing that mixed children are troubled children is the only study directly concerned with mixed children in the military known to me. Spaulding and Cantrell, administrators of the DOD High School in Yokosuka, Japan, report on the Amerasian student, "the student whose father is an American serviceman and mother is oriental." "He is the blending of cultures that results from military deployment in foreign countries for the past 29 years" yet, they report, "often . . . he does not blend; he does not identify; he does not belong" (Spaulding & Cantrell, 1974). Their concern for the Amerasian student derived from the fact that while Amerasians (mixed national children and children with two Asian parents) comprised 50 percent of the DOD student body, they accounted for 81 percent of the overt educational and behavioral problems.

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*The British use of the term "coloured" includes Asians as well as West Indians and Africans.

Although Spaulding and Cantrell began their report with a statement of concern for the mixed race child, their conclusion indicated that the significant variable may not be mixed parentage, but rather Japanese socialization. The children with low self concept and low academic achievement were the Nisei children and the children of mixed parents who had lived all their lives in Japan. The children of American fathers and Oriental mothers who had lived in the United States four or more years while school-aged were similar to the American children on these two measures.

A More Positive View

In contrast to the above, there are a few studies which indicate that mixed parentage is not detrimental to children. In fact, on selected measures it may even provide an advantage. Chang (1974) compared Kansas school children with parents of different nationalities (all happened to be military dependents) with children having two American parents (some military and some non-military). The children of mixed parents had both a better self concept and higher school achievement than the American children. Frideres, Goldstein and Gilbert (1971) likewise found that while children of Jewish-Gentile parents were less likely to be active in the Jewish community than those of Jewish parents, there was no difference between them on measures of alienation, anxiety or self-esteem. Harre reported that discussions with social workers and an educational psychologist "indicated that in general the children of mixed marriages (Maori and whites in New Zealand) did not constitute either a social or a psychological problem" (1966, p. 140). His observations were based on interviews with Maori-white couples.

Critique of the Literature

The literature on mixed children is, however, predominantly negative. There are three main reasons why the portrayal of mixed children in the literature is so negative — authors' backgrounds, research funding, and choice of explanatory variables. Many of the articles and books about mixed couples and their children have been written by people who have met their subjects in a professional role — counselors, psychiatrists, rabbis, priests or ministers. As people in the helping professions, it is not surprising that they tend to meet mixed couples and their children who need help. A second reason for the largely negative view of mixed families is that it is easier to secure funding for problem-oriented research than for research on adjusted individuals.

Thirdly, mixed parentage is sometimes inappropriately blamed for an individual's difficulties. Mixed parentage is an outstanding feature of a person's case history, and it is a characteristic which is widely believed to cause difficulties. Therefore, it is expeditious to attribute difficulties to this characteristic without looking deeper. Two of the studies cited earlier provide examples of this. Spaulding and Cantrell (1974) began their paper with a statement about the behavioral problems of Amerasians-children who have American fathers and Oriental mothers. Yet, as has been pointed out, their data indicated that the crucial variable is Japanese socialization, not mixed parentage *per se*. Although Batta (1975) did not interview the children who make up the statistics of delinquency and use of child care facilities, he concluded that identity problems underlie their delinquent behavior. While I am certain that this contributed, I find it significant that the half-coloured were more than twice as likely as white boys to be illegitimate and more than twice as likely as white children to be abandoned. The rate of illegitimacy and abandonment is, however, a reflection of one kind of British-Asian liaison or marriage. It is highly probable that parents of such children are lower-or-working-class British girls who have married or had affairs with Indian, or more likely, with Pakistani immigrants. Many of these lower class immigrants have had very little experience with the West prior to coming to Britain, and many do not speak English. They are often married to Pakistani or Indian wives. Since both partners are uneducated and have virtually nothing in common except the extreme resistance of friends and relatives on both sides, conflict is generally extreme. It is not uncommon for the Asian to desert his wife/girl friend. In cases where the English family has rejected the girl for this relationship and she cannot make enough money to support the child, she may abandon it. Such relationships should not be taken as typical of Asian-British marriages. Hurh (1972) is the one author who did attribute the marginality of war children in Korea (American military fathers, Korean mothers) primarily to other variables, namely the stigma of being illegitimate children of prostitute mothers.

Thus, mixed parentage is not necessarily a primary and negative determinant of a child's life experiences (though it can be). Thus, I agree, with Piskacek and Golub that the "racial problem is not a causal factor related to any specific clinical maladjustment, but, rather, a stress factor that affects general problems of living and creates additional pressures on the children and their families." (1973, pp. 53-4). Although this statement appears early in their article, Piskacek and Golub, who are psychiatrists, devoted most of the article to documenting the difficulties encountered by children with mixed backgrounds because of this heritage.

The articles presenting a more positive view of mixed children are not any more helpful than the negative reports as a basis for truly understanding the mixed child's experience because the positive reports tend to be based on single measures (e.g., educational achievement, personality tests). Though it is impressive to note that the subjects of Frideres, Goldstein and Gilbert (1971), with mixed parents did well on alienation, anxiety and self-esteem criteria, for all of these are thought to be areas in which mixed children are especially prone to difficulty.

Mixed Children—Complex People, Complex Experiences

I do not question the validity of the data supporting either the pathological or the normal characteristics of mixed children. Individual case studies undoubtedly present valid data on the dynamics of self hate, withdrawal etc. on the part of individuals who have been deeply hurt by their parentage. But we have no indication of how representative these individuals are. Data like that of Chang (1974) and Frideres et al. (1971) which included responses from a more representative group of mixed children have not given insight into the experiences and feelings about these experiences.

In-depth interviews with 20 children of British-Asian couples in England completed by this writer give us some insight into both the difficulties and benefits of having mixed parents. Children in the study were all from intact families which were largely, though not exclusively, middle class. Although a few of the families raised their children within the Sikh or Muslim tradition, most of these children had been raised in a predominantly English social and cultural environment. Two of the children interviewed were extremely withdrawn during the interview and appeared to have very real problems. These children presented a somewhat unusual case. The daughter was obviously the daughter of the mother only, and it was widely known in Muslim circles that she was illegitimate, a situation completely unacceptable to the orthodox Muslims with whom the husband wished the family to associate. In addition, the English wife was either slightly retarded, or had a severe speech defect which also stigmatized her. The children were being raised as strict Muslims which made it impossible for the daughter to participate in the activities of English school girls. In addition they lived in a *council estate** marked by racial hostility, some of which was directed at them as one of the first Muslim families in the estate.

With the study group an additional three children showed some

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*"Council estate" refers to public housing for poor families.

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signs of rebellion which the parents attributed to uncertainty regarding identity or to difficult social relationships due to color and/or mixed culture. One couple dealt with the problem by changing their son's school; the other two families who were raising the children in an Asian tradition sent the children to India for schooling in an effort to solidify their Asian identity. Many similar stories are heard about the children of Indian and Pakistani couples residing permanently or semi-permanently in Britain. These children find it difficult to identify with a country they have never seen and a culture perpetuated in a language they do not understand well.

As a group the 20 children interviewed were perceived by the interviewer as normally adjusted. That is not to say that they had not experienced difficulties related to their mixed background. All the children interviewed had experienced some degree of racialism (racism) and had experienced varying degrees of social or psychological marginality. The most common form of racism is name calling — "Paki" or "wog," "chocolate face" — and being told to "go back where you come from." One girl, however, did suffer a concussion when a white English boy to whom she would not give her seat on a bus shoved her against a railing.

Feelings of social marginality vary according to time and place. It appears to be experienced most acutely in new situations — when a child begins to play with neighborhood children or in a new school — when faced with the need to identify herself/himself in terms which are meaningful to others. This is difficult when the child looks Asian but acts and thinks like an English child. Another sensitive period is the early teen years when dating becomes important. Even those children who have many friends are recognized, formally and informally, as leaders in their schools admit to some feelings of marginality. One girl with many friends admitted that if a white boy asked for a date she assumed it was because he had failed to find a white date. If a colored boy asked her out, on the other hand, she felt it was because she was the only colored girl in the school. She also reported that she felt herself to be an outsider when friends made racist comments or told racist jokes. A young man who was an acknowledged leader of his classmates said, "you're like Spock (of the TV program, *Star Trek*), you're one of them, but you are always aware that you are different, it's just there."

The question of self-identity is, as the literature insists, an important and difficult one for children of mixed parents, but it is not necessarily as debilitating as sometimes suggested. All 20 children interviewed definitely saw themselves as half-and-half, which is as their parents encouraged. If this were their only identity, it might very well cause great difficulty for many of them, but it is not. Identity is multifaceted; cultural heritage is only one part of an identity. These children also saw themselves as English and sometimes as Indian or Pakistani. What they felt and how they felt about that identity varied (as does the feeling of marginality) with time and place. A common way of coping with the uncertainty of an identity which does not fit neatly into societal expectations is to emphasize other, non-questionable, facets of identity, e.g. region — "I'm a Yorkshireman," "I'm a Londoner, everyone outside of London accepts that, because Londoners are a weird and mixed bunch;" — religion — "I'm a Muslim," or occupation — "I'm a scientist; nationality is irrelevant in science."

Although it is apparent that the question of identity concerns these respondents and sometimes does create tension, one respondent felt this to be an advantage: "At least I found out who I was a long time before my friends did; I had to sort it out at a much earlier age." Another frankly enjoys the attention she receives because she is different and exotic.

Although all the children reported at least occasional discomfort associated with being mixed heritage, all of the respondents also recognized benefits associated with their mixed heritage. There was virtually complete consensus that children of mixed national/race parents have a broader world view, are more open-minded and less prejudiced than their English peers, and more aware of and sensitive to world problems and problems of minorities. Underscoring the complexity of their experiences is the feeling that being more broad-minded and more aware is to be valued. Yet, at the same time it can be a slight disadvantage because it sets them apart from their friends. Several respondents reported trying to help their friends see the world in a different light, especially to have a better understanding of Asian immigrants in Britain.

The important point to be made here is not that these British-Asian young people did not have difficulties associated with their background, but that most of them had coped with it and found it has some benefits. Parental support is very important as a foundation for coping. The parents interviewed were very conscious of the need to provide a secure retreat, assurance of worth and, where necessary, and possible, change in the child's social environment. Darnauer (1976) cited several studies which indicate that the child's behavior in military families is more closely related to the way in which the parents deal with him than to the conditions of the physical environment. The role of the military parent and the cross-culturally married parents are quite similar in providing an essential support system for children coping with unorthodox life styles.

Children of Cross-Cultural Parents in the Military: Some Speculations

As can be seen there are vast differences in the experiences of mixed children and in their ability to cope. Much of this difference can be explained by differences in the children's situations. As the military is a unique social environment, it provides an excellent opportunity for studying the impact of social environmental factors on the children of mixed marriages and a better understanding of how mixed children in the military develop. Such understanding will sensitize us to why or when such children might present special problems with which the military would need to be concerned.

At present, it does not appear that children with cross-national or interracial parents in the military present extraordinary behavior or psychological problems. If they did one would expect more than one of the 153 military family studies reviewed by Farish, Baker and Robertson (1976) to examine mixed couples and their children. The single article in that review which does concern cross-cultural families, that by Druss (1965), provides a somewhat more convincing demonstration of the couples' difficulties than difficulty on the part of their children. Druss reported that eight percent of new cases in a Mental Hygiene Consultation Service during a six-month period had problems related to a foreign marriages. Based on available data, cross-national families can be estimated at 10-30 percent of the military, the eight percent rate is not noteworthy.

Two cautions must be kept in mind, however, before concluding that children of mixed race/national parents are no different than other military children. First, absence of overt behavior problems does not necessarily mean absence of tension. It may mean only that the children have learned to cope with their tensions. This in itself is important. Second, it is possible that children of cross-national parents experience more difficulty when stationed in the foreign parent's country. This would not show up in the available literature, since most studies reported have been done on United States military bases.

Let us now look more specifically at the military as a social environment, focusing on those factors which might make life for the mixed child easier than elsewhere as well as factors which could potentially place such a child under special pressures. At issue are aspects of military life affecting the child's sense of identity, feeling of social and psychological marginality, and adjustment within the family.

Speculation about how the experience of children with a mixed national background in the military compares with that of such children in civilian families will be presented in the form of testable propositions. That it is not easy to conclude whether children with parents of different nationalities find adjustment easier or more difficult in the military can be seen by the fact that propositions listed under positive features of the military are in direct contradiction to propositions listed under negative features of military life.

Factors Contributing to Ease of Adjustment for Children of Cross-National Parents in the Military

The remainder of the paper deals with children of cross-nationally married couples in the military. To facilitate discussion, children of Americans married to Koreans will be used as an example. The reader should keep in mind that this is merely an example and not an indication that Amer-Korean children are in any way different from other Amer-Asian children. It is likely, however, that Amer-Asian children do face greater potential strain than children of Americans married to Europeans because of racial characteristics and because differences between the parents' cultures are greater.

Children of Cross-Nationally married parents in the military will have less uncertainty or conflict regarding their identity than those who are not in the military. It is likely that growing up as a military dependent reduces, but does not completely eliminate the Amer-Korean child's uncertainty regarding identity. Military affiliation provides an unquestionable, overriding identity similar to the certainty of religious, regional or occupational identities mentioned by British-Asian children in Britain — either you are a military dependent or you are not. And, especially for families living on base, this shared, definite identity is buttressed by a shared and somewhat distinct lifestyle characterized by a high degree of mobility and use of base facilities for entertainment and shopping. The identity of military dependent also has the advantage of being one which the Amer-Korean child shares with other children; it includes him in a community. This is in contrast to the Asian-British child who is raised in Britain as Muslim (a definite identity) but who knows no other Muslim children.

In addition, there may be less sense of uncertainty over national identity in an environment such as the military which emphasizes nationality and national pride. One's "Americanness" would be constantly reinforced. To the extent that the parents reinforce this dominant nationality and culture, the child could have a more secure sense of national identity than the child reared in a less nationalistic atmosphere. An Amer-Korean child's American identity would undoubtedly be strengthened even more when the family is stationed abroad, and the child finds it is his "Americanness" which sets him apart from the host nationals. Children of British-Asian parents interviewed in England for this study reported that in the United Kingdom they think of themselves as half English and half Indian/Pakistani, and that this is how they respond when asked what they are. In another country they say they would identify themselves as English and would see themselves as English. I have also observed this tendency of a sojourn abroad to strengthen sense of one's national identity among Black American students who were in Africa on a summer program with me.

Being stationed in Korea is likely to be quite a different experience for the Amer-Korean child than being stationed in other foreign countries. The potential tensions arising in such a situation will be discussed below. It is possible, however, that for some Amer-Korean children the experience of living in Korea would serve to strengthen the child's self-concept. One potential source of insecurity for the mixed child is lack of knowledge of understanding of half his heritage. This is especially true when the only sources of impressions about Korea are negative stereotypes. Many of the British and Indian or Pakistani parents in my United Kingdom study identified lack of knowledge about India/Pakistan as a source of frustration for their children. Their children were physically identified as Asian, but most knew little or nothing of Indian/Pakistani culture aside from the prevalent negative stereotypes. Two of the families who felt their sons were having slight emotional difficulties due to uncertainty about being partly Asian sent the boys to India and Pakistan for schooling. Both families reported that this experience, and the experience of meeting Asian relatives and other Asians, and seeing Asian culture as real and vital, had helped the boys. Similarly, Amer-Korean children could perhaps benefit from a change for personal involvement with Koreans and their culture.

Children with cross-nationally married parents will experience less social marginality in a military environment than they would in civilian life. Informal conversation with military personnel and dependents indicate that children of cross-national parents do not experience a noticeable amount of social marginality. Three reasons for the relative ease with which such children are integrated into the social life of military dependents are (a) the shared lifestyle and social bonding among military dependents, (b) the reduced level of prejudice among military dependents, and (c) the world view shared by military dependents and cross-national children.

The Amer-Korean military child is generally accepted by other military dependents because he is one of them — he shares the characteristics of military life which distinguish dependents, in particular those living in military housing, from civilian youth. They experience the same degree of mobility which can inhibit complete social integration into civilian social circles, they share use of base facilities for recreation and shopping and, to the extent there is prejudice against military families, they share that as well.

Darnauer's (1976) research suggests that military adolescents do not perceive their lives as significantly different from those of civilian teens except for the high degree of mobility which does set them apart. My conversations with numerous military dependents indicate that, while they do feel their interests and activities are no different from those of other young Americans, they do, in many cases, feel different from and somewhat marginal to civilian teens. These differences have been felt particularly strongly by children of non-commissioned officers who have felt antagonism toward military dependents in some schools. In many cases, therefore, the dependents, white and non-white, remain together rather than making friends with the civilian students.

The bond between military dependents is likely to be particularly strong when stationed abroad. In other countries, not only military life, but also the American culture is a strong point of commonality between the Amer-Korean and other Americans. It is possible that the special situation of being stationed in Korea could enhance the Amer-Korean child's status if he is knowledgeable about the people and their customs. He could serve as an interpreter for his American peers.

A second, perhaps more important, reason for the apparent ease with which the Amer-Korean child is accepted by military dependents is the world view and racial attitudes of most military dependents. Military families' mobility and contact with other cultures and people, as well as military policy regarding racial integration, make them more tolerant of differences than many civilians. Indication of the importance of army policy toward racial integration is found in Darnauer's statement that "positive army policies regarding racial integration were reported by subjects to account for the difference between army and civilian (racial) attitudes (1976, p. 58). Darnauer reported that 75 percent of the military children he interviewed did not consider race an important factor in friendship choice. The same percent said that race, rank and religion are not important to most army children in selection of friends. Montalvo's (1976) research supports this; the military children he interviewed found it difficult to accept peers who were prejudiced toward blacks and foreigners. It would be worthwhile, however, to explore the possibility that mixed race/nationality boys and girls have different experiences in the military; Darnauer did find that 40 percent of girls said race, rank and religion were important in their choice of friends.

It is more than lack of prejudice which helps to integrate the Amer-Korean child into the military dependents' peer groups; it is the more positive fact that, to a great degree, being a military dependent appears to foster the same world view that being the child of cross-nationally married parents does. It is noteworthy that respondents in Darnauer's (1976) study made virtually the same comments regarding the positive aspects of being a military dependent that British-Asian children in England made about having cross-culturally married parents. In both cases they cited broader life experiences and tolerance of differences in people. The respondents in my English study reported that although they had many English friends they felt different from those friends because their friends did not share their world view, their interest in and concern with other peoples and with broader world issues. The world view that these military dependents and the children of British-Asian couples in England share is characteristic of the world view of what John and Ruth Hill Useem have labeled the "Third Culture." People in the third culture are individuals who mediate between societies, e.g., diplomats, missionaries, international businessmen, exchange faculty members, etc. The Useems found in their studies of two kinds of third culture people — American-educated Indians and Indians in America — that they shared a similar broader perspective, "an enlarged world view growing out of having personally experienced contrasting milieus. They look upon the world around them and themselves in a different way" (Unseem & Useem, 1968, p. 151). For further discussion of their culture idea see, Useem and Useem (1967).

Factors Creating Stress for Children of Cross-National Parents in the Military

Identity will be a difficult issue for the child of cross-national parents regardless of how she/he is socialized. The question of identity is the most frequently mentioned problem in the literature about children of mixed marriages. There are two general approaches to dealing with the question of identity. One philosophy is that the child should consider himself a member of one society and culture, the other side of his heritage representing little more than a matter of historical interest. Socialization within a patriotic institution such as the military would support this orientation and could, as mentioned above, alleviate identity problems as long as that reference group accepts the Amer-Korean child as a member. The second approach is to encourage the child to identify as strongly as possible with both of his parents' cultures.

Using the Amer-Korean child as an example, we can see potential difficulties with either philosophy for a child raised in a setting which is so strongly representative of one culture, the American. The choice of identifying with one culture supported by the military environment may reduce the stress of divided loyalty. Yet it raises the possibility of problems associated with the feeling that the child only knows half of what he is, and thus feels himself an incomplete person. This approach is especially problematic when the child is identified by others as Korean because of his physical characteristics, yet doesn't know what it means to be Korean.

Amer-Korean children raised as Americans, without real knowledge of their Korean background, are particularly vulnerable to negative images of Korea, feeling these must apply to themselves. Such a problem could arise for the American socialized Amer-Korean child stationed in Korea, especially if, in an effort to be completely accepted by his friends he has tried to be 100 percent American. If such a child dislikes what he sees in Korea he could easily experience a great deal of tension trying to resolve the conflict of disliking something to which he partially belongs. The characteristics he does not like about Koreans cannot be dismissed as the habits of a strange and foreign people; they are the characteristics of his people. He is confronted with that half of himself which he has worked to reject, forget or hide — he sees a side of himself he does not like.

There are however, also possible difficulties if parents try to raise an Amer-Korean child in the American military to identify strongly with both Korea and America. There is little or no support for the Korean socialization pattern outside the family. Efforts to strengthen the child's identification with Korea — language training, etc. — only serve to set the Amer-Korean child apart from his American peers. Children generally do not appreciate activities which make them different. Respondents in my English study reported that they would greatly appreciate the chance to know more about the Indian/Pakistani culture if it occurred naturally. Many said they would be more comfortable if they knew more of their Asian heritage and thus could make it more completely a part of their personal identity. But, at the same time, they admitted that they would have greatly resented being pushed into language or cultural studies in a situation where there were not others participating in that culture with whom they associated regularly.

The experience of social marginality will increase for the children of cross-nationally married parents when stationed in the foreign parent's country. An Amer-Korean child stationed in Korea is likely to experience more social marginality than he would in the United States. The feeling of social marginality can be especially great because of the potential there for experiencing a degree of marginality to both Koreans and Americans. In the United States in contrast, the Amer-Korean military dependent probably has little if any contact with Koreans, thus, is not in a position to experience marginality to that group. And, as was pointed out above, it does not appear that mixed race children experience a *great* deal of marginality among peers when stationed in the U.S.

Relations with American peers in Korea could change if the Amer-Korean child is identified by the other dependents as "one of them" or "like the Koreans," and therefore an outsider. The tendency to identify the Amer-Korean child with the Koreans will be strengthened if it is known that he visits Korean relatives. The most severe manifestation of this, complete ostracizing, is unlikely to occur, but even supposedly innocent behavior on the part of American dependents such as negative comments about the Koreans and racial jokes or name-calling directed at the Koreans can make the Amer-Korean child feel socially marginal to some degree. This point was brought out by a number of my British-Asian respondents. One girl who had close English friends said that often when she was enjoying herself and was feeling very much part of the group, someone would make a racist remark about Asians, and she was forcefully brought to the realization that she could never be completely part of that group, completely able to share their views and values.

A stronger feeling of social marginality is likely to be experienced by the Amer-Korean child in his relations with Koreans. Both Koreans and Americans (parents as well as children, in many cases) are likely to believe that a child with parents from two cultures will naturally be able to interact easily with individuals from both societies. This expectation creates a great deal of tension from children who have been socialized predominantly or completely in only one of the cultures when they are confronted with the other. As this is likely to be the case with the Amer-Korean military dependent, associating with Koreans may be even more difficult for him than for his American parent or his American peers. The children are not expected to understand Korean customs and thus are praised rather than blamed for mistakes which indicate an effort to learn.

Intergroup and international relations will affect the social and psychological marginality of children with cross-nationally married parents in the military. An event or situation which identifies and polarizes groups is likely, ultimately, to affect the social position and therefore the psychological well-being of individuals who are related to both groups. In situations where members of different races or nationalities associate freely with one another, race and nationality are not particularly important. When the barrier between groups is high and relatively impermeable there is great pressure to associate with only your own kind, and not to associate with representatives of the other group. In such a situation the child of mixed race or nationality does not clearly belong to either group. Even if such a person does affiliate with one group it can have a psychological cost, for one demonstration of fidelity is demeaning the other group, in this case one's other half.

One factor which could have a significant effect on relations between Amer-Korean children and other children of military personnel is the nature of international relations. Similarly, changes in race relations can easily affect relations between black and white military dependents, and therefore, possibly the social position of children of black-white couples. It would be interesting to know, for example, what impact, if any, the 1977 incident at Camp Pendleton (Black Marines breaking into what they thought was a KKK meeting and the subsequent events) had on relations between black and white youth on that base. Relations within the military undoubtedly reflect relations in the world around, yet I have seen no reference in the literature to how international or intergroup relations affect military families or relationships among military dependents. It is not difficult to imagine how extremely difficult it would be for the Amer-Korean child in the military if, for some reason, relations between American and Korea deteriorate, especially if this reaches the extreme of taking opposite sides in conflict. Americans would then define Koreans as the enemy; social interaction with them would be tabu. The Amer-Korean child would very likely be rejected by other children, if his father remained in the service.

Children of cross-nationally married parents will experience greater distress during father absence than other military children. A number of studies have looked at the effect of father absence on military children, but none, to my knowledge, consider how the experience of children such as the Amer-Korean child might differ from that of American children. Several studies report that boys whose fathers are absent or who have experienced a greater degree of father absence than others have more behavior and identity problems. If it is true, as Piskacek and Golub (1973) suggest, that (mixed) race is a stress factor which adds pressure to normal stresses, than we should expect to observe somewhat greater stress when their fathers are away among Amer-Korean children and others like them than the American children.

Baker, Fagen et al. (1967) found poorer peer adjustment and greater masculine striving among father absent boys; Pedersen (1966) found greater emotional disturbance; and McCubbin, Hunter and Metres (1974) found that children with fathers missing in Vietnam showed difficulties related to identity formation and interpersonal relations. On these dimensions one can point to reasons why Amer-Korean children are likely to be even more vulnerable to stress during father absence than American children. For example, it may be difficult for a boy to develop his masculine identity when his father is gone for long periods, but identity-formation must be even more difficult for the Amer-Korean boy whose only remaining parent in an American social environment is Korean.

The Amer-Korean child may also experience greater difficulty in social relations and familial relations during father absence than the American child, for he is dependent upon a foreign mother whose understanding of American culture, especially the youth culture, is extremely limited, a parent who may not even speak English fluently. One of the major points of disagreement between American men and their East Asian wives is how strict to be with children. Devos, in his study of Japanese-American marriages found that "one of the most significant areas of culture difference is the attitude concerned with child rearing" (1973, p. 71). The Asian mother's strict behavior codes can cause tension in the family at any time, but the stress would be particularly great when the American partner is not present to intervene, explain, relax the rules. Gabower's (1960) study indirectly supports the idea that Asian parents' strictness may create some behavior problems. His research indicates that the behavior of military children is more closely related to how they are treated at home than to the conditions of their physical environment. Druss reported that one-third of the children in his study (three girls out of ten children) had unusual problems aggravated by their "mothers who were unusually strict, who were not attuned to and were rather frightened by the relative freedom of American teenage culture /and who/ were not on terms familiar enough with American born mothers to share ideas on child rearing" (1965, p. 225). The special difficulty of girls with Asian mothers in the American environment is suggested by the fact that all three of the children with unusual problems related to foreign mothers in the study reported in this chapter were girls. This is undoubtedly because girls look to their mothers as role models, and an unacculturated foreign mother is an inappropriate role model for the girl's social environment.

Manifestation of the conflict over expectations is not limited to the home. The Korean mother's insistence on stricter rules and fear of American children's freedom may lead her to restrict the Amer-Korean child's participation in the activities of American children or to single them out by making them come home earlier, etc. Another way in which the social interaction of some Amer-Korean children may be inhibited by a Korean mother is the children's embarrassment about bringing friends home to meet a mother who knows little English, speaks with a strong accent, imposes seemingly unreasonable rules or is entertaining Korean friends. These problems are all difficulties mentioned by respondents in my English study of British-Asian children. Several children commented that their Indian/Pakistani father's lack of understanding of British youth culture made things difficult for them. For example, girls resented being kept close to home, and boys resented the fact that their fathers did not appreciate the importance of sports to English teens. Children of one couple commented upon their embarrassment when friends could not understand their father because of his accent. This problem was alleviated to some degree by the fact that their father was a doctor and commanded respect because of his high status occupation. Most Asian military wives would not have the high status necessary to counteract their foreignness.

An additional disadvantage for Amer-Korean children during father absence is their mother's lack of integration into either the military or the civilian community. Montalvo (1976) noted that foreign wives are estranged from the civilian communities in general and have few, if any, friends in military housing. And Druss (1965) reported that soldiers with foreign wives feel they are snubbed, picked on and abused by their neighbors. Instead, they tend, according to Druss, to associate with others of their own nationality. Because of this isolation, the Korean mother is unable to help the Amer-Korean child integrate into a new community as well as an American mother can help her child. Even when the family has not moved, the mother's isolation cuts the family off from important informal support in time of stress. Druss further noted that the foreign wives in his sample were especially isolated "during illness, childbirth and other crisis periods" (Druss, 1965, p. 224). Although foreign wives seek help from agencies as often as American wives, according to Montalvo (1976) they do not participate in the informal social networks through which American wives get a great deal of help and support. Although Montalvo states that foreign wives make as much use of services as American wives (though they use military services more while American wives use civilian resources) McCubbin, Dahl and Hunter (1976), reviewing the original 1968 study by Montalvo, reported that Montalvo "noted the significantly greater amount of difficulties exhibited by wives of foreign origin and their general isolation from the mainstream of life in the community. Although these wives were found to be more dependent upon the military community for assistance, *they were relatively unknowledgeable of services in the community to assist them in time of need*" (McCubbin, Dahl and Hunter, 1976, p. 309, emphasis added). This isolation and lack of help can certainly affect the children as well.

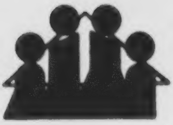
Summary

Knowledge of mixed children and of military children has permitted us to speculate about the experiences of children of cross-cultural couples in the military. It appears that there are many factors which ease the acceptance of mixed children by peers and thus reduce social marginality. Research with children in Britain indicates that even socially accepted and integrated children of cross-cultural parents have periods of self doubt about their identity and continue to feel somewhat different from their friends. An important question to ask is whether the military provides a strong enough shared identity to reduce these feelings of psychological uncertainty about identity or whether this is an inherent question with which all mixed children must deal. Two other important questions which need further exploration concern the effect of foreign assignment on the experience of mixed race/nationality children in the military and the effect of racial or international tensions on relations between mixed race/nationality children and their peers. Further research on these questions would be of practical value to the military and of great theoretical value to social scientists.

CHAPTER 7

LANGUAGE LEARNINGS OF INTERNATIONALLY MOBILE MILITARY YOUTH: SOME THIRD CULTURE COMPARISONS

Mary C. Rainey



While childhood learnings lay foundations, the individual in later life may choose to forget to maintain and develop earlier ways of communicating, feeling and acting. This chapter explores what factors shape the language learnings of dependent children of internationally mobile American military families. The experiences of military youth are compared to those of other American children raised in the overseas community.

The Third Culture Framework

This socialization experience is considered as occurring within the context of the Third Culture. A third culture is generated by a community which spans two or more societies. It is a "set of shared expectations which perform a function of mediation between societies and cultures." A distinct composite of values, role-related norms, and social structures "are generated which set such communities apart from the societies they span." Third cultures are maintained through ". . . the self conscious effort on the part of its carriers to create the common ground for living and working together " (Useem, 1962).

The concept was originally advanced to describe Americans in India who participated in various ways as missionaries, businessmen, diplomats and technical assistants and the particular cross-cultural problems arising as a consequence. The concept was later expanded to include dependents and others associated with the American community. Within this context the dependent American youth participates not directly in Third Culture relationships, but indirectly through the institutions of the community which surround and support the American presence (Useem 1966, Useem 1972).

Characteristics of the Population of Overseas Dependent Children

In the last three decades more Americans than ever before have resided abroad (see Table 7.1). The increase reported between 1950 and 1960 is most dramatic. Between 1960 and 1970 although increases occurred in the total number of Americans residing abroad, this increase was greatest in the category of Armed Forces Personnel. There was a decrease in the U. S. civilian population abroad accounted for primarily by the decrease in the number of Department of Defense dependents (see Table 7.2).

*TABLE 7.1 United States Population Abroad 1900-1970**

Year	*Number*
1900	91,219
1910	55,608
1920	117,238
1930	89,453
1940	118,933
1950	481,545
1960	1,374,421
1970	1,737,836

*Adapted from U.S. Census of the Population — 1960, *Americans Overseas* 1960, Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957 and 1970, Americans Living Abroad.

*TABLE 7.2 Comparison of United States Population Living Abroad 1960-1970 by Sponsorship**

Sponsor	*1960*	*1970*	*Number and Percent Increase/Decrease*
US Civilian Population Abroad	761,892	680,060	-81,822 (-11%)
Federal Civilian Employees	35,325	56,448	+ 21,123 (+ 37%)
Dependents of Fed. Employees	503,400	371,336	-132,064 (-26%)
Armed Forces	462,504	317,996	-144,508 (-31%)
Fed. Civ. Employees	40,896	53,367	+ 12,471 (+ 23%)
Crews of Merchant Vessels	32,466	15,910	-16,556 (-51%)
Other Citizens	190,701	236,336	+ 45,635 (+ 19%)
Armed Forces	609,720	1,057,776	+ 448,056 (+ 42%)

*Adapted from the U.S. Census of the Population — 1970, Americans Living Abroad.

The 1970 Census of overseas Americans lists approximately 326,416 dependent children from birth through 24 as resident outside of the United States. As divided by the Census into sponsorship categories, 63 percent were children of Armed Forces personnel, 11 percent were children of Federal Civilians and 26 percent were dependents of "Other Citizens"* (see Table 7.3).

*TABLE 7.3 Number and Percentage Distribution of Overseas Dependent Children from Birth to 24 by Sponsorship of Parents, 1973**

Sponsorship of Parents	*Number*	*Percentage*
Total	326,416	100%
Armed Forces Abroad	206,305	63%
Federal Civilian Employees Abroad	34,420	11%
"Other Citizens" Abroad	85,691	26%

*Adapted from the U.S. Census of the Population — 1970, Americans Living Abroad.

Language Learnings of Overseas Experienced American Youth

Two kinds of data are reviewed in this chapter to identify social factors predictive of self-reported proficiency ratings in speaking languages other than English among American teenaged dependents. First, the U. S. Census is reviewed for factors suggestive of language learnings. Secondly, findings from a study of a research population of 150 subjects are summarized.

Identification of Census Data Related to Language Learnings

Sponsorship of Parent. The sponsorship of the parent is defined as the organization which employs the head of the household. The 1960 Census summarized knowledge of local languages other than English among dependents aged 14 — 24 by three sponsorship categories. Sponsorship was indicative of ability to speak the local language. More than one out of five (22%) Department of Defense teenage dependents learned to speak the local language. However, they were less likely than dependents of Federal Civilians (52%) or "Other Citizens" (72%) to learn (see Table 7.4).

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*"Other Citizens" include such persons as private businessmen, contract workers on military installations, employees of foreign governments and international organizations, retired persons, missionaries, students and teachers.

TABLE 7.4 Number and Percentage Distribution of Reported Ability to Speak the Local Language Other than English of 14 — 24 Year-Old American Dependents Overseas By Area of Residence and by Sponsorship of Parents, April 1, 1960.

Area of Residence Of Those Reporting Ability to Speak Local Language, if Other than English	*All Citizens Abroad*	*Armed Forces Abroad*	*Civilian Employees Abroad*	*"Other Citizens" Abroad*
ALL AREAS	31,976	14,844	3,046	14,086
Speaks Local Language	14,990	3,296	1,592	10,102
Percent	(46)	(22)	(52)	(72)
ASIA	6,808	3,020	1,058	2,730
Speaks Local Language	2,212	306	382	1,524
Percent	(32)	(10)	(36)	(56)
AFRICA	1,300	528	156	616
Speaks Local Language	498	78	72	352
Percent	(38)	(14)	(46)	(57)
EUROPE & USSR	16,860	10,176	1,148	5,536
Speaks Local Language	7,870	2,726	700	4,444
Percent	(47)	(27)	(61)	(80)
CANADA & MEXICO	2,186	302	80	1,804
Speaks Local Language	1,542	52	46	1,444
Percent	(70)	(17)	(58)	(80)
AMERICAN (except CANADA & MEXICO)	3,280	210	420	2,650
Speaks Local Language	2,674	114	362	2,198
Percent	(82)	(54)	(86)	(83)
OTHER	1,542	608	184	750
Speaks Local Language	194	24	30	140
Percent	(13)	(4)	(16)	(19)

The characteristic of sponsorship was thought to be descriptive of a number of factors controlling access to the opportunity to learn languages. Two of these factors ennumerated in the 1960 Census of Overseas Americans include area of residence and birthplace of parents.

Area of Residence and Sponsorship. The 1960 Census shows the distribution of American dependents aged five through twenty-four in different sponsorship groups by the region in which they reside. If residence in an area indicates that the language spoken there is likely to be learned, then inspection of modal distributions suggest that larger proportions of Armed Force dependents will learn languages spoken in Europe; dependents of Federal Civilians will learn those spoken in Asia and Europe, and dependents of "Other Citizens" will report learning the local languages of America, Asia and Europe.

Birthplace of Parents and Sponsorship. When Census data on the overseas child is considered with regard to the origin of his parents, an important factor emerges which may help explain language learnings. Based on the 1960 Census over one-fourth of all dependents aged birth to 24 have one or both parents who were born outside of the United States. This proportion of foreign born parents is higher among all Americans overseas than citizens residing in the United States. The proportion also differs among sponsorship groups. More than one-fifth of the children of Armed Forces personnel aged birth through 13 have one or more foreign born parents; more than one-third of the minor dependents of Federal Civilians fall in this category and close to fifty percent of the dependents of Other Citizens fall in this category.

Length of Stay and Sponsorship. Sponsorship was also thought to be predictive of length of stay. Ervin-Tripp (1967) found in her study of the second language learnings of Japanese women in the United States married to Americans that her subjects learned as a function of time. It was hypothesized that members of different sponsorship groups would reside in countries for different periods of time with Department of Defense dependents moving most frequently and missionary youth least. The Census provides no information to support or contradict this hypothesis.

Criteria for Selection of the Research Population

To explore and expand upon social factors identified in the Census as related to language learnings among individuals who had spent a minimum of one teen year abroad, data were assembled on a research population of individuals who met the following criteria:

1. Enrollment in an accredited college or university in the United States;
2. Undergraduate status;
3. Residency for a minimum of one teen year overseas;

4. Status as a teenage dependent of an overseas American. Subjects were considered dependents when their parents were resident overseas, whether or not the child was in the same country; and
5. Holding United States citizenship either by birth or by naturalization while residing for one teen year overseas. Dual citizens were included where one country of citizenship is the United States.

Categories of Analysis

Several dimensions were selected as probable characteristics along which the experience of language learning would vary. These are the sponsorship of parent, the area of residence and sex. The research population was selected to roughly balance in these categories.

Collection of Data

Three methods were utilized for identifying subjects for the study. They were the use of a student personnel inventory administered to entering Freshman at a large land grant university; a list of students who had resided abroad who were enrolled at a church affiliated college; and a combination of newspaper ads, referrals and inspection of a campus telephone directory for persons with American sounding last names but foreign home addresses.

Characteristics of the Research Population

One hundred and fifty individuals met the criteria for the study. Distribution of the research population by sponsorship of parents indicated that three categories contained thirty or more dependents (see Table 7.5). They were Department of Defense, Missionary and Business. Twenty-eight subjects qualified as Federal Civilian dependents, a category which combines both civilians working for the Department of Defense and those employed by such agencies as the Department of State and the Agency for International Development. Employees in this group have the same PX-type privileges and continue to seek employment abroad on their own initiative.

The fewer number of males present in the Federal Civilian and Business categories may have been due to their attendance at colleges and universities in the Eastern United States which are not well represented in this study. Two biasing factors were the large proportion of military dependents who attended the Frankfurt American High School and the large group of business dependents who attended the American Community School in Beruit, Lebanon.

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TABLE 7.5 Distribution of 150 College Undergraduates with a Minimum of One Year Overseas Experience as a Teenage Dependent of Americans Abroad by Sponsorship of Parents by Sex

	Sponsorship of Parents					
Sex	*Defense*	*Civilians*	*Missionaries*	*Business*	*Other*	*Total*
Males	18	9	21	13	7	68
Females	12	19	17	22	12	82
Totals	30	28	38	35	19	150

Research Instruments

Language learnings were measured by using a self-reported proficiency rating in reading and speaking different languages developed by Fishman and reported in *Language Loyalty in the United States* (1966). The information was obtained in a seven-paged questionnaire and related to data gathered in a 31-page instrument which covered areas ranging from academic achievement and friendship preference to health. Two items were selected to explore their relationship with language learnings, one of which is reported later on in this discussion. They are overall grade point average in secondary school and intellectual self-concept. Finally, indepth interviews were conducted on a cross-section of the research population to obtain an understanding of the dynamics of facts established earlier by statistical analysis.

Findings

Languages Learned

Languages learned among overseas dependents in this study, compared to high school foreign language students in the United States, differ with respect to the three most frequently learned languages and to the learning of "additional languages." The United States high school language students choose to learn Spanish most often, French second and German third. Overseas students in this study choose French most frequently, German second and Spanish third. The United States public school language students of languages other then French, Spanish, German, Latin and Greek accounted for less than one-half of one percent of the foreign language enrollments (Kant, 1970). In sharp contrast, 26 percent of all the foreign languages claimed by overseas students are living languages in the "additional language" category.

Overseas experienced American youth can be characterized as language learners. Of the 150 research subjects in this study, 92 percent claimed to know one or more foreign languages. More than half (57%) reported knowing two or more foreign languages. If, as it appears, a foreign setting teaches in a far more compelling way, the significance of knowing a language in addition to English, why did twelve subjects in the study claim to know only English?

Factors Related to Claiming to Know English Only

Twelve subjects claimed to know English only. While no statistically significant conclusions can be drawn, a case by case analysis suggests several hypotheses. In the research population, four Department of dependents, four missionary dependents, two persons in the category "Other," one business dependent and one Federal Civilian reported knowing no foreign language.

An hypothesis is that Department of Defense sponsorship may be predictive of lower proficiency in speaking foreign languages. Unlike other groups of Americans abroad, members of the military community are less likely to be sent overseas to work with or meet host nationals. Children tend to be more mobile than dependents in three of the other sponsorship categories. The learning of a foreign language in DOD schools is not emphasized as strongly as in other schools attended by overseas American dependents. In military schools one reason for teaching foreign languages is to prepare students for college entrance. An hypothesis suggested by case study data is that learning a foreign language is part of an overall orientation towards achieving success in school. All four of the DOD dependents who did not claim to know a foreign language had B minus or lower grade point averages in secondary school.

In contrast to the Department of Defense group, a primary concern of those in the missionary category was the ability to communicate with host nationals. All of the missionary dependents who did not claim to know a foreign language were resident in areas where English was spoken by the educated elite. Thus, it was not necessary for them to learn a local language to work with a segment of the host nationals. They were resident in countries where a number of tribal and regional languages were spoken by the host nationals in different areas throughout the country. These countries were Tanzania, Nigeria, Kenya and the Republic of the Philippines. These as well as the remaining cases uphold the hypothesis that those dependents resident in areas where a local language is not a comprehensive language spoken throughout the country, are less likely to learn the local language. Dependents residing in areas where English is spoken are less likely to learn other local languages. Moreover, those who are geographically mobile in an area where several tribal languages are spoken or who live in urban centers where a number of local languages are spoken are seen as less likely to learn local languages. However, as exemplified by the experience of one subject who later became a Peace Corps trainee, exposure to a variety of languages at an early age may provide the linguistic flexibility needed to acquire languages during a latter period.

Factors Related to Speaking Spanish

Of the 150 Third Culture children in the research population, 41 or 27 percent claimed to speak Spanish with a rating of excellent, good or fair.

Residency in a Spanish speaking area was strongly predictive of claiming to speak Spanish. A Spanish speaking area is defined as a country listed in Muller's *The World's Living Languages* as having a large number of persons whose first language is Spanish. Subjects resided in three kinds of areas. They lived where Spanish was not spoken or was a *non-local language* as for example in Afganistan. They resided in areas where Spanish is the language of a *limited elite* as in the Republic of the Philippines. A number lived in areas where Spanish is a *comprehensive language*, that is spoken throughout the country as in Argentina.

Statistical analysis shows that residence in an area where Spanish is a local language is strongly predictive of both self-reported ability to speak and self-claimed proficiency ratings of excellent or good in speaking. Two factors were suggestive of these Spanish proficiency ratings. Business or missionary sponsorship may indicate higher proficiency among resident speakers while an orientation toward achievement in school suggests higher self-reported proficiency ratings among non-resident speakers.

Factors Related to Speaking German

Forty-eight subjects or 32 percent of the research population claimed to speak German. Three factors are stongly predictive of claims to speak that language. *Residency* in a German speaking area is a powerful factor in predicting ability to speak German. *Sponsorship* of parent is statistically significant in predicting who learns German, with a high proportion of Department of Defense and Federal Civilian dependents in this category. Data also suggest that, when compared with other groups, military dependents claim fewer high proficiency ratings. *Attendance at DOD schools*, a factor linked to membership in this sponsorship category, is also predictive of lower speaking proficiency.

The data do not support statistically significant differences between males and females with respect to learning German. However, two trends suggestive of *gender role differences* can be observed; one suggests that males who are resident where German is spoken claim higher proficiency ratings than females; secondly, among non-resident German speakers, females claim higher proficiency ratings. Still another hypothesis suggestive of higher proficiency ratings in speaking German, was longer term residence in a German speaking area. An illustration: some of the conditions conducive to learning German are illustrated by case interview data from a Department of Defense female who resided in Turkey and Germany. Because of the distance to school, she was required to use local transportation instead of a military bus. She and her brother enjoyed developing contacts with the German host nationals. An American girl friend, who was a long-term resident in Germany and knew German well, provided company and security for her ventures into the host culture. She found most Germans wanted to spend their time learning English from her. In her own words:

> *I like being with people who speak German. I learned it traveling on the train a lot, talking to people about their country, comparing differences. I fell short on learning the culture; I was hindered by being with Germans who knew or wanted to learn English.*
>
> *I picked up more German than French from my French teacher. He talked to me in German while riding on the bus. The trip took one hour.*
>
> *At first my parents were afraid to let me go out after dark. They were concerned about kids getting involved in drinking as there were no drinking laws. They started letting me have more freedom after we moved from the city to a rural town. I met a lot of people, went to movies with German friends, to the Gasthaus and the soccer games. We would meet a group of German kids and go downtown to the discotheques and in the summer time to cafes and concerts with folk singers.*
>
> *On weekends, I stayed with a girl friend who had lived in Germany since she was two. Their home was like a German home. It had German knickknacks, flowerboxes in every window, a huge basement and wine cellar and a sink in every bedroom.*
>
> *There was a German lady who lived across the street who was married to an Air Force Colonel. She introduced me to a German guy. When we went out, he talked about cars, clothes and the places we went to. He thought Americans were impressed by these things, but I wasn't.*

> *He would degrade his language, saying it sounded crude and harsh and that he wanted to learn English. I thought he didn't mean it, that he wasn't sincere.*
>
> *My brother did a lot more than I did. He was more independent. He was allowed to be by my parents. He would do things and tell afterwards. I would ask first. Once he and a friend wanted to hitchhike to Strasbourg. They were afraid to ask because mother would be afraid for their safety. He left a note saying when he would be back and left. Dad was angry at first because he was worried. He asked, "Did you have a good time? What did you do?" They had a couple of laughs. After that Dad let him go. He figured there wasn't anything he could do to stop him.*
>
> *They were worried because he would fall asleep. Once he went to the French border on the train before he woke up. It was after a soccer game. He had to come home alone.*
>
> *Once they didn't want me to go to Stuttgart for a weekend to my girl friend's house. I took a suitcase with me when I went to school. They were really angry. Mother said, "You're just a damn independent kid." They were upset because they didn't think they had any control over me. I didn't think they should. After that they got less restrictive with us.*

Factors Related to Speaking French

Over half (53%) of the research population claimed to speak French. Again, *residency in a French speaking* area was strongly predictive of self-reported ability to speak. *Sponsorship of parent* which is also predictive of area of residence and type of school attended was predictive of claiming to speak French; higher proportions of business dependents and those in the category "Other" were "French speakers"; Department of Defense and missionary dependents were less likely to report speaking French. A biasing factor is the large number of subjects who as business dependents attended the American Community School in Beruit, Lebanon. These students resided in an area where French was spoken by a local elite and were enrolled in a curriculum which stressed the learning of French.

A third statistically significant factor predictive of claims to speak French was *sex*. Females were more likely to be "French speakers" than males both among residents and non-residents in French speaking areas. These findings support an hypothesis that among dependents in the study there is a norm which parallels that commonly held to be true for language students in the United States; *it is more appropriate for females to learn French than males.* However, there was no difference between males and females in self-reported proficiency rates in speaking French either among residents or non-residents in this research population.

Twelve subjects lived where French was spoken but did not claim to know French. Inspection showed that all twelve were residents where French is not a comprehensive language. They lived either where French was the language of a limited elite as in Viet Nam or where French was a regional language as in Switzerland and Canada.

Factors Related to Claims to Know Additional Languages

No factor tested was significantly related to self-reported claims to speak one of the twenty-four different languages reported as learned in this category. However, four factors were suggested as predictive of speaking proficiency.

Again, *Residence* in an area where an "additional language" is spoken suggests who will learn. Non-residents who claimed to speak an additional language had *ethnic surnames* suggesting these learnings were passed on by family members in the home.

Sponsorship of parent was again suggestive of which language is learned. Missionaries tended not to claim "additional languages" spoken in Europe while military dependents in this research population reported fewer occurrences of claiming to know additional languages spoken in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

When proficiency ratings were examined, it was found that higher ratings in speaking were claimed by longer term residents compared to those present in the country for fewer years.

Summary of Findings

Analyses identified a number of related factors, some powerfully indicative and others merely suggestive of language learnings.

Sponsorship of Parents. A major hypothesis of this study was that language learnings differ depending upon the sponsorship of the parents. Persons in the same sponsorship group were viewed as belonging to the same international community and culture no matter where they may reside in the world. With regard to the learning of languages, members of those sponsorship groups for whom interaction with host nationals is important, and who were longer term residents seemed to emphasize the achievement of proficiency in the local language. Those who were members of sponsorship groups for whom interaction with host nationals is not required in day to day work and therefore for whom transfer between positions is not as difficult, were predicted to learn languages which can be transferred to other locales.

Findings showed that sponsorship is predictive of language learnings. Department of Defense dependents who resided in Germany learned German but claimed lower proficiency ratings than non-DOD dependents who resided in German-speaking areas. Few military dependents claimed to know languages other than German, Spanish or French. These findings support the hypothesis that among sponsorship groups whose members do not interact with host nationals in their day to day work, the local language is learned when instruction is thought to be available in that language at other posts. The results also support the hypothesis that higher proficiency ratings in the local language will not be claimed by members of these groups.

Missionary and business dependents who resided where Japanese and the African, American, Asian and Near Eastern languages are spoken, claimed to speak these languages. Dependents of missionaries who were resident Spanish speakers, and business dependents who were resident Spanish or French speakers, claimed higher proficiency ratings than dependents in the other sponsorship categories. These findings support the hypothesis that higher proficiency ratings are claimed in French and Spanish, and that non-European languages are learned by members of those sponsorship groups who are longer term residents and for whom interaction with host nationals is important.

Length of Stay. Members of different sponsorship groups who resided in one country only varied in their length of stay abroad. Earlier research on Japanese women married to Americans who reside in the United States indicated that length of stay may be predictive of language learnings. Data from the present study were available to test this hypothesis, but only for persons who resided in one country during their entire stay overseas; they suggested that length of stay may be predictive of the ability to speak among resident speakers of French, German or an additional language other than Portugese, Italian or an "other European" language.

Two reasons are offered to explain these exceptions. In a number of countries in Latin America, including Spanish speaking areas as well as Brazil where Portugese is spoken, the law requires that all secondary students enroll in the local language in school. Thus, even the one year resident would probably claim to know Spanish or Portugese. In the case of Italian and "other European" languages, it may be that ethnic roots are more predictive of the ability to speak.

Gender Role. It was thought that differences would exist between males and females in language learnings. Interviews suggested that females are more restricted than males in interacting with a host national society. An hypothesis was that males would be more proficient in speaking the local language. No difference was thought to exist between males and females who claimed to know the language of the area in which they reside. Findings indicated that gender roles were strong predictors of those who learn French. Both among residents and non-residents, more females claimed to know French. However, among resident German speakers, males were more likely than females to claim high proficiency ratings. No trends were observed among resident Spanish or French speakers. One explanation may be that there is a pattern among military dependents, who constituted a large number of the German speakers in this study, which discourages females from contact with the host national society.

Sponsorship of School. Although sponsorship of school has not been separated out as a separate influence from sponsorship of parent, it is a contributing factor. Schools attended by overseas dependents vary in their efforts to teach languages. Based on a description of schools in the *Directory of Overseas Schools* (Rainey, 1968), it is known that in some institutions, a language instruction other than English is used; in others, foreign languages are required courses; in still others, foreign languages are electives. The nationality of the student body and of the teaching staff also vary.

Area of Residence. Sponsorship groups differ in the regions of the world in which they reside. One hypothesis was that the area of residence is predictive of learning the local language. The findings indicated that residence is strongly predictive of learning for speakers of French, Spanish and German, and in a majority of cases for those who speak Portugese, Italian, Japanese, "other" European, Near Eastern and African, American and Asian languages.

A second hypothesis tested was that residence is predictive of proficiency in speaking the local language. The data showed that it is an important factor in predicting fluency in speaking Spanish and suggestive of speaking proficiency for French and German speakers.

Overall Grade Point Average in Secondary School. Although residency was predictive of proficiency, it was hypothesized that an exception would occur among those non-residents with high grade point averages. Data suggest that an orientation towards high achievement in school is predictive of higher proficiency ratings among non-resident Spanish speakers; GPA of non-residents may be more strongly related to high proficiency in reading.

A Conclusion from Case Data

These statistical findings have established and suggested ways in which the Third Culture context of the overseas community influences proficiency in speaking foreign languages. Case study data indicate how dependents in each of the sponsorship groups who achieved speaking proficiency gained access to new roles. Teenaged dependents were made primarily responsible for answering phones and conducting public relation activities for school principals, for obtaining food, lodging and directions on family vacation trips, for buying and selling the family car, for translating business letters, for hiring and firing the household servants and for entertaining the monolingual wives of host national dinner guests. Performance of these roles allowed some dependents to learn and achieve the poise and sophistication needed to mediate between cultures. They also provided experience by which to sort out identity and develop aspirations and commitment to long term careers and family roles in communities which span cultures.

Implications

If we believe that the kind of language learning documented here, which takes place in the process of socialization in Third Culture families and communities, is of value in a globally interdependent society, we are lead to ask how we can arrange our resources to make it possible to enhance rather than ignore the human resources created. Several questions are offered for discussion as to the kind of efforts which might be made:

- Would it be useful to establish a network of researchers, parents, school administrators, teachers, counselors, university admissions officers who would exchange ideas on how to systematically assist overseas experienced youth develop their strengths prior to and upon re-entry to the United States?
- Would it be worthwhile to investigate systematically how the home overseas can be strengthened to act as a learning center linked to and in cooperation with community and school to initiate, reinforce and filter strategies which prepare persons for living and working in overseas settings?
- Would it be of benefit to sponsor a popular research-based family life education column for parents in a vehicle like *Stars & Stripes* as a means of exchanging suggestions and sharing experiences on how to cope in and take advantage of the Third Culture setting?

- Would it be appropriate to design and sponsor events and services for returned overseas dependents which would expand their options to build on their intercultural skills including sponsoring high school reunions to provide peer reference points by which to judge their own development, supporting internships and fellowships to study and work in Third Culture communities and providing career and family counseling?

CHAPTER 8

CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT AMONG MILITARY FAMILIES

Daniel Lanier, Jr.

A retrospective study of child abuse and neglect was conducted at Madigan Army Medical Center and Fort Lewis, Washingtion (a typical military community). The study was undertaken to gain a better understanding of what influence, if any, the "military life style" of service families has on the reported incidence of child abuse and neglect compared to published studies using similar selected variables. The study reported in this chapter looked at differences and similarities between military parents and civilian parents who maltreat their children, as well as reasons for these differences. The study reviewed the reporting of child abuse, the support system, and how intervention and treatment process functions in the military community.

Study Design

The study included all families who were identified to an Army Child Advocacy program (ACAP) as abusive and/or grossly neglectful parents during the four-year period January 1972 through the end of 1975 (N = 225). Demographic profiles were developed which were then compared with published profiles of child abuse studies in the civilian community.

Data for the study were obtained from the Child Protection and Case Management Team (CPCMT) at Madigan Army Medical Center (MAMC). The CPCMT is a part of the Army Child Advocacy Program. Responsibilities for the ACAP are shared jointly by Fort Lewis and MAMC.

Madigan is one of the Army's major medical teaching centers. It is a 365-bed acute care facility which provides outpatient care and hospitalization support to over 142,700 active duty and retired personnel and their families in the Tacoma, Olympia, and Seattle areas. It is a specialty referral center for all military and VA medical facilities in the Northwestern United States, Alaska, and the Far East. Madigan has an average daily admission rate of 43 and provides care for over 2,500 outpatients per day. Madigan has 80 residents and 37 interns who take training in 11 different medical specialties. It also has a LPN school, a residency program for Health Care Administration Graduates, a nurse anesthetists course and a fellowship program. The Center operates in direct support of a combat division. It provides primary medical care to the assigned personnel and families of a large Air Force base (McChord AFB). Primary medical care is also provided to personnel and families from a number of other major headquarters and command elements which are located in the immediate area. Medical and psychosocial care is provided for the more than 2,500 personnel and their families who are assigned to MAMC. There is also a large number of retired military families in the area, as well as a number of Navy and Coast Guard personnel and their families in the area.

Definition

As used in this study, child abuse and neglect refer to the intentional or nonaccidental use of physical force to maltreat or injure a child by parent(s) or other guardians and to nonaccidental acts of omission on the part of a parent or other caretaker aimed at hurting, injuring or destroying that child. This includes shaking, beating, burning, failure to provide the necessities of life, actions leading to failure to thrive, and sexual abuse (incest or other sexual activity within the family with a minor child). The acts of omission also include failure to provide warmth, attention, supervision and normal living experiences. The study recognized that verbal abuse (excessive yelling, belittling, and excessive teasing) is also a problem. However, no families were included where this was the primary problem or predominant complaint at the time of referral.

The Child Protection and Case Management Team

The Child Protection and Case Management Team (CPCMT) is a team established under Army Regulation, MAMC Regulation, and in accordance with the Revised Code of the State of Washington. The Team meets on a weekly basis to receive reports of alleged incidents of child abuse and/or neglect, to collect information concerning each alleged incident, and to make recommendations concerning the disposition of the child and the family. The CPCMT is composed of representatives from the professional, legal, law enforcement, and medical community at MAMC, Fort Lewis and McChord AFB. It also has a regular representative from the local county Children's Protective Services (CPS), Department of Social and Health Services (See Figure 8.1).

The CPCMT (formerly Children's Protective Services Committee) has been in effect at MAMC since 1967. Currently, an average of two new cases is referred to the team each week. Between eight and ten ongoing cases are reviewed and updated at each of the meetings.

Source of Referral

Referrals were made to the CPCMT from 12 different sources. However, over 60 percent of the referrals came from just three sources: the MAMC Emergency Room, 28 percent; Department of Pediatrics, 23 percent; and neighbors, 11 percent. A total of about 30 percent came from schools, county Children's Protective Services agency; parents (self-referrals); relatives, military police; civilian police; Community Health Nurse; Community Mental Health Activity; and babysitters. Slightly less than 10 percent came from a variety of sources which were categorized as miscellaneous. The large number of referring agencies lends some credence to this being a military community based program rather than merely a medical/hospital program.

Profile on Abusive Military Families

The following is a brief summary of the demographic data on the 225 families included in the studies. These families were compared on similar variables with families from national studies on child abuse and neglect by David Gil (1970) and with a survey of child abuse literature by Marc F. Maden (1974).

Age of Children

Children in the study ranged in age from less than one month to 16 years old. However, our data indicate child abuse in the MAMC study tends to occur at an earlier age than it does in the civilian community. Thirty-two percent were less than one year old. Fourteen percent were between one and two years of age and an additional 23 percent were between two and four years of age. Over 25 percent of the child abuse in the MAMC study occurred to children less than six months of age, and almost a third were less than one year of age at the time of the abuse. An additional one-third were less than four years of age at the time of the abuse.

Figure 8.2 shows the age distribution of children at the time they came to the attention of the Child Protection and Case Management Team.

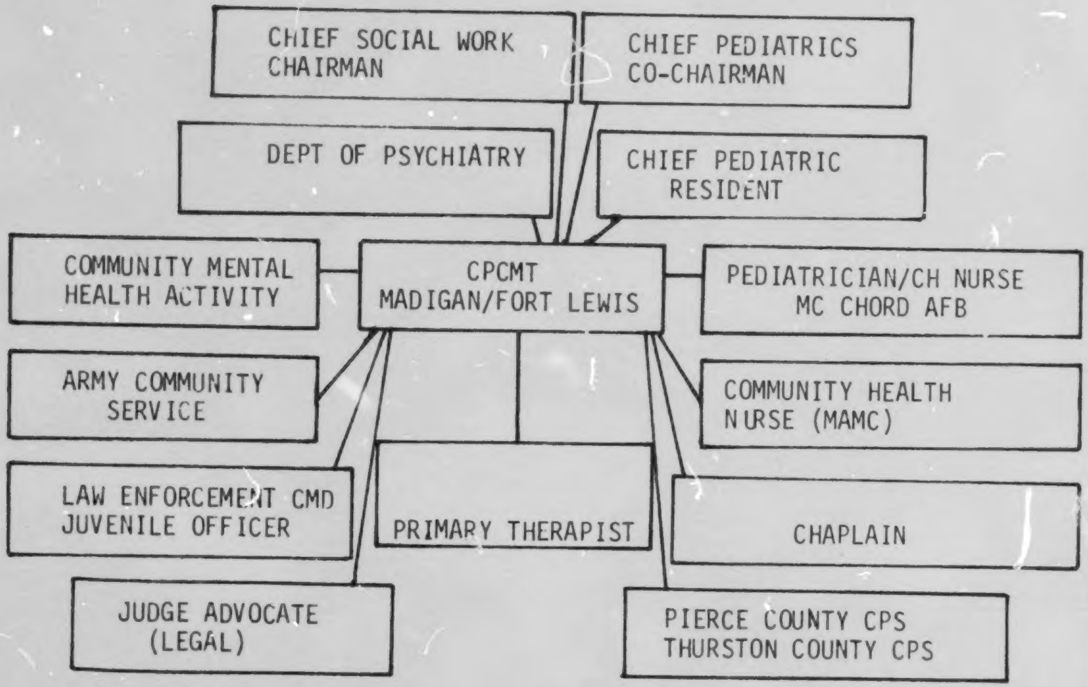
CHIEF SOCIAL WORK CHAIRMAN
CHIEF PEDIATRICS CO-CHAIRMAN
DEPT OF PSYCHIATRY
CHIEF PEDIATRIC RESIDENT
COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH ACTIVITY
CPCMT MADIGAN/FORT LEWIS
PEDIATRICIAN/CH NURSE MC CHORD AFB
ARMY COMMUNITY SERVICE
COMMUNITY HEALTH NURSE (MAMC)
LAW ENFORCEMENT CMD JUVENILE OFFICER
PRIMARY THERAPIST
CHAPLAIN
JUDGE ADVOCATE (LEGAL)
PIERCE COUNTY CPS
THURSTON COUNTY CPS

FIGURE 8.1. — The Child Protection and Case Management Team

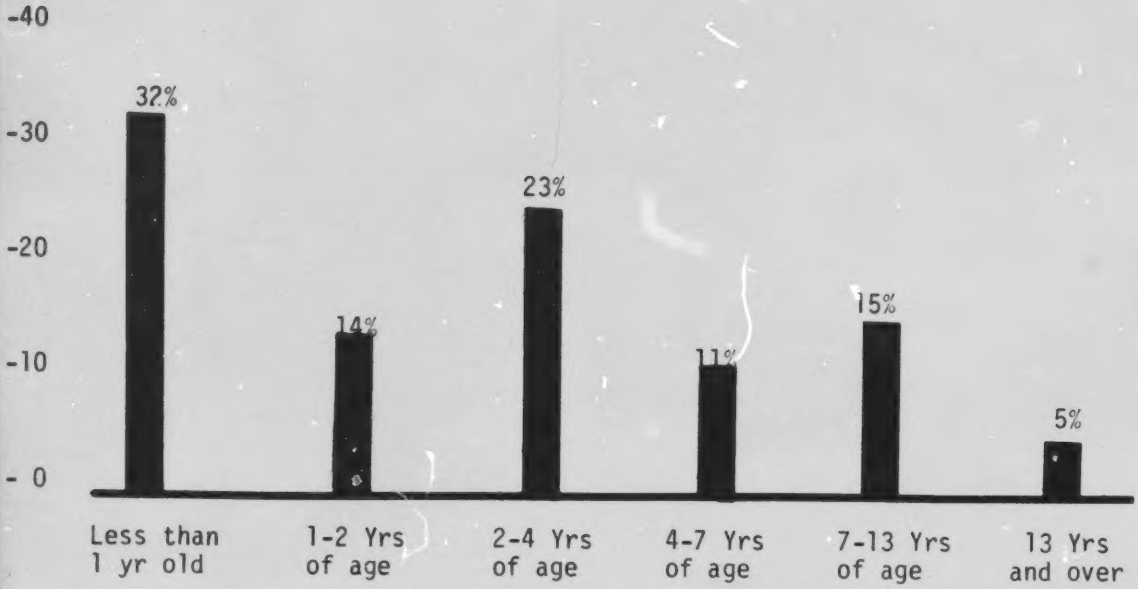

FIGURE 8.2. — Age of Child at Time of Abuse (= 225).

The national study of Gil (1970) found less than 8 percent were less than six months of age and an additional 5.5 percent less than one year of age. Based on Gil's national studies, one would conclude that the age at which child abuse occurs in the civilian community differs significantly from the age at which it occurs within the military community.

Age of Parent

In the MAMC study it was found that the population parents were very young. Both the mother and the father were younger than that which was reported in other studies. The military mothers ranged in age from 16 to 44 years. However, the majority were in their late teens and early twenties. Over 42 percent of the mothers in the MAMC study were 20 years old or younger, and fully two-thirds of them were 23 years old and younger. Gil (1970) and Maden (1974) reported that slightly over 9 percent of their mothers were less than 20 years old and an additional 26 percent were less than 26 years of age.

Fathers in our study tended to be about two years older than mothers. Ten percent of the fathers were 19 years old or younger, with over one-third of them between ages 20-22 and almost one-half between ages 23-25. In other words, over 70 percent of the military fathers were only 25 years old or younger. Gil and Maden reported that less than three percent of their fathers were under 20 years of age and an additional 16 percent were between ages 20-25. Less than one-fifth of the civilian fathers were under 25 years of age as compared to 70 percent of the military fathers. Thus, both the abusive mother and the abusive father in the MAMC study were younger than their counterparts in the civilian community.

Type of Abuse

We found that in about two-thirds of our subjects, abuse was the primary problem, with a combination of abuse and neglect occurring only one-third of the time. This finding is just the opposite of national statistics. One explanation perhaps is that this study was conducted in a medical setting where abuse is more noticeable, and military physicians are trained to report suspicious cases. Other factors may be the case with which a military physician can report and act upon cases of alleged child maltreatment. Moreover, the reporting of child maltreatment is not a time consuming endeavor for the military physician. Lack of rapport and lack of trust in community agencies which deal with child abuse is not a major factor for the military physician. It has been estimated that less than two percent of child abuse is reported by private physicians, whereas 50 percent of the cases in the MAMC study were initially reported by either the physicians in the hospital emergency room or by the physicians in the Department of Pediatrics.

Sex of Abused Child

The MAMC study found that the male child is abused more than the female child on nearly a 60 to 40 ratio. Gil found that in age category below 12 years old, boys were slightly outnumbered by girls on a 51 percent to 49 percent ratio. However, in the teen years girls were outnumbered by boys at a 63 percent to 37 percent ratio. The Gil study also found a nearly 2 to 1 rate towards girls being most abused in the teenage years. Less than 10 percent of the abuse in the MAMC study occurred in the teenage years. Maden found that sex was not a significant factor in that the ratio was a 52 to 48 one, with males slightly in the lead. Because most of the children (70%) in the study were less than four years of age, it is felt that the sex factor does not differ significantly from the findings of the national studies.

Relationship of Abuser to Child

The MAMC study found that fathers were abusers about 10 percent more often than mothers. Gil (1970) found mothers the abusers slightly less than one-half of the time. Maden (1974) found that (a) step-parents and fathers are equally abusing; (b) for children under two years old, mothers are the abusers three times as frequently as fathers; (c) unemployed fathers are more likely to abuse young children; employed fathers older children; and (d) the youngest child was most likely to be injured by the mother; the oldest child by the father. Maden concluded that mothers inflict more serious injuries and are responsible for more fatalities.

The MAMC findings are different from national studies. Nearly one-half (46%) of the children in the MAMC study were less than two years of age, and all of the fathers in the study, except one, were gainfully employed. Yet fathers in our military study were identified as the abusers more often than the mothers. One is therefore led to believe that there are other phenomena at work which are not examined in the previously quoted studies.

Length of Marriage

It was found that child abuse occurred a disproportionate amount of the time among families who had been married a relatively short period of time. Nearly one-fifth of the parents in the MAMC study had been married less than one year, and an additional one-third had been married between one and two years. Thus, over one-half of the abusive parents in the study had been married less than two years, and almost two-thirds had been married less than three years at the time they were reported to the CPCMT. The other two studies deal with marital status in a different manner and cannot be accurately compared with this study.

Mobility

In the MAMC study it was found that 40 percent of the families had been in the area less than one year. Gil (1970) found that nearly one-half of the families had lived in the home one year or less at the time of the incident, about one-fifth had been in the home from one to three years, and about 72 percent had been in the home three years or longer. The Maden (1974) study concluded that despite the fact Americans are characteristically mobile, studies of child abuse families showed that they were considerably more nomadic than nationwide estimates; thus, the evidence strongly suggests that child abusing families are unusually mobile. Despite the high mobility rate of the military family, this does not appear to be a distinguishing characteristic of the military child abuser. In fact, the child abusing family in the military is very much like his civilian counterpart on the factor of mobility.

Military Rank and Annual Average Income

Military rank of the sponsors was used to determine where, socioeconomically, child abuse was most likely to occur. Rank was also used to compute average annual income so that it could be related to other studies. Nearly two-thirds (63%) of child abuse in the MAMC study occurred in families where the father was between the rank of Private First Class and Sergeant (E-3 to E-5). Over 90 percent occurred in families where the father was between the rank of Private and Staff Sergeant (E-2 to E-6). It should be pointed out, however, that some child abuse occurred in all of the rank structures. The disporportionate representation in the lower rank structures may be related to such factors as the general life style of junior enlisted personnel; related to where they are located within the peer structure of the millitary system; related to such things as images of themselves and job satisfaction and demands being made upon them by a young family. Many people have initially taken on marital and family responsibilities in order to have their own needs of self-worth met and in order to have someone to give to them and to provide for them from a psychosocial point of view; however, it is soon learned that with a young, demanding child it is the parent who has been placed in a "more giving situation" rather than one where his needs can be met.

In the rank of E-3 to E-5 where two-thirds of the child abuse occurs, the average annual income range was $7,850 to $9,850. By including the average annual income range of E-2 to E-6, which includes over 92 percent of our reported child abuse families, the average annual income range is from $7,150 to $12,770.* The income distribution for abusing families reported by the Gil (1970) study as compared with MAMC military families is shown in Table 8.1.

TABLE 8.1 AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME FOR CHILD ABUSERS

GIL STUDY	*INCOME*	*MAMC MILITARY FAMILIES*
22.3%	Under $3,000	None
26.1%	$3,000 — $4,999	None
16.2%	$5,000 — $6,999	1.7%
12.7%	$7,000 — $9,999	74.1%
2.6%	$10,000 — 14,999	21.4%
0.4%	$15,000 and above	.86%
19.8%	unknown	

The Maden (1974) study found that 79 percent of the abused children and 52 percent of the nonabused children came from low income families. Since nearly three-fourths of the military abusive families were in the $7,000-$9,850 income bracket, it would appear that lack of income is not a significant factor in child abuse in the military, as it has been found to be in other studies. It is the conclusion of this author that the lack of job satisfaction and the lack of meaningful employment are perhaps more important factors than the income variable when looked at in more controlled settings.

Race of Abuser

In the MAMC study it was found that a disproportionate percentage of the child abusers were white. The minority target population was about 15 percent (for all minority groups) and about 85 percent Caucasian. The reported incidences of child abuse were 94 percent white and 6 percent for all minorities, with 4 percent of that being for black families. One finds considerable variation in other studies in regards to race of the abusive parents.

Gil (1970) found that about one-third of the abused children

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*Average annual income includes basic pay, cash value of quarters and subsistance allowance, and tax advantage of these two allowances. The average is for all soldiers in the same pay grade. Individual pay will vary depending on longevity, tax circumstances, family size, and other factors. *Army Times*, October 29, 1975, p. 18.

were non-white (1970). A 1968 Denver, Colorado, study found that Negroes accounted for 21 percent of all abuse cases but comprised only 10 percent of the city's population; however, in a controlled study, minority children were less likely to be abused than whites (Maden, 1974). One can therefore conclude that the slight over-representation of white families in the MAMC study is in keeping with the findings of other studies of abusive families, when controlled for the factor of race.

Type of Assignment

Father's job and/or work assignment is a factor which has not been examined in other studies of child abuse and neglect. This study therefore looked at the general category of job based on the type of military unit to which the father was assigned, and based upon the combat arms group to which the sponsor classified himself/herself at the time of the initial referral to the CPCMT.

MAMC operates in direct support of a combat ready infantry division. Troops from the Division outnumber garrison soldiers at considerably more than a 5 to 1 ratio. The other assignments which require a considerable amount of technical training and a high level of skill account for a rather low percentage of the child abuse and neglect families. To some extent there may be spuriousness in Figure 8.3 and 8.4 in that soldiers who are identified as being assigned to garrison in Figure 8.3 are also identified as being in a support element in Figure 8.4. These data, however, lend further support to the finding that it is the garrison/support soldier who is disproportionately represented as being a child abusing parent.

Types of Child Abusers

Military child abusers, like their civilian counterparts, can be classified as either chronic child abusers, episodic abusers, or acute abusers. Different methods of treatment and intervention are needed for each type. Issues of treatment and methods of intervention will be discussed in depth in another paper. However, a brief description will be given of each of the above types.

The safety and welfare of the child is usually at stake with the chronic abusing parent. It is therefore frequently necessary to remove the child from the home while intervening with other therapeutic techniques with the parents. Chronic child abusing parents have usually had poor childhood experiences, were abused and/or maltreated themselves as children, have poor self-image, and are likely to be heavily involved with alcohol and drugs to the extent of affecting their social and job functioning.

Episodic abusing is likely to occur when parents perceive that

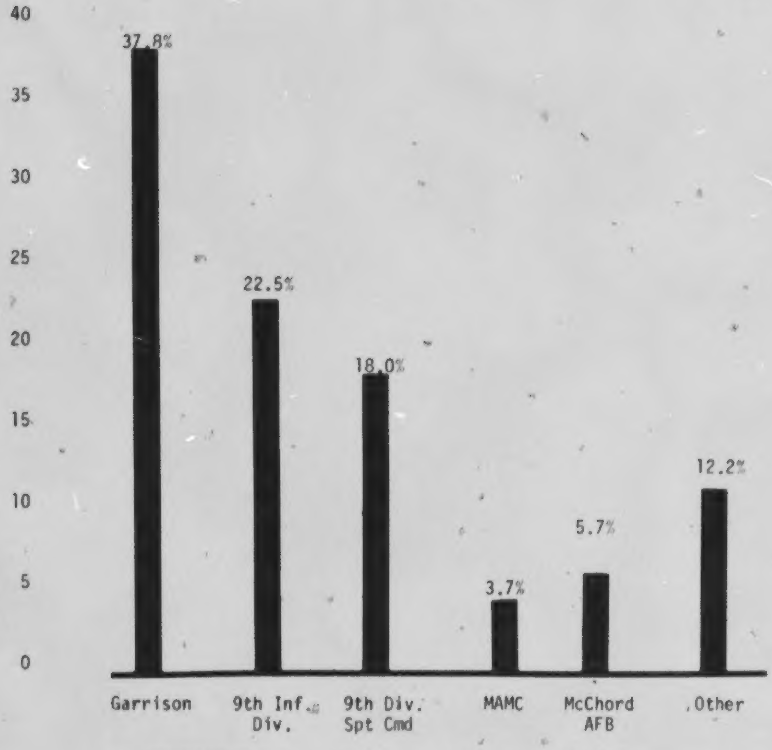

FIGURE 8.3. — Military Address of Sponsor

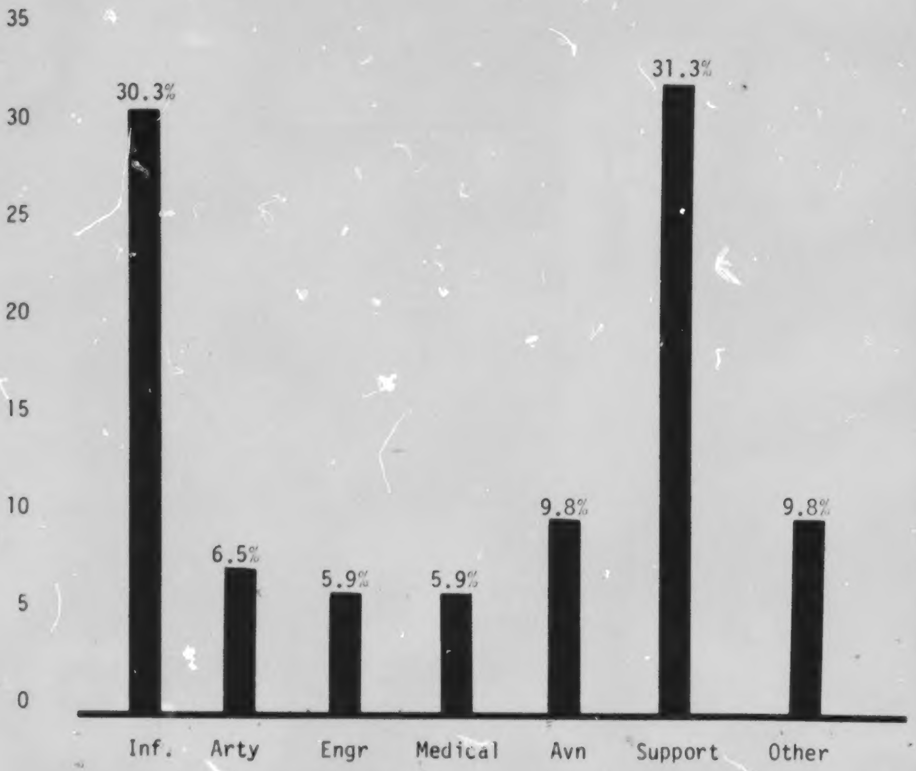

FIGURE 8.4. — Type of Unit

they do not have any other viable alternatives in dealing with their children. The parents usually lack knowledge of parenting skills and have not had models of successful families from which to learn. When intervention is started early it is usually not necessary to remove the child from the home of episodic abusing parents. One of the major methods of intervention with the parents is the teaching of parenting skills and providing successful models such as parent aides in the homes for these parents.

Acute abuse is likely to occur as the result of stress within the family and is likely to occur in families who are socially isolated. Such parents experience frequent crises related to such things as job, finances, legal problems or illness. The usually tolerant and controlled parent "takes it out" on his child due to the lack of other readily available viable alternatives. With the acute abuser it usually is not necessary to remove the child from the home while teaching new parenting skills and helping to resolve the other crises which precipitated the abuse.

It is often asked, why do military parents abuse and neglect their children? It is also frequently assumed (even by those who should know better) that military parents are more abusive than other parents. The study examined these two questions.

The study and the experience of the CPCMT reveal that military parents abuse and neglect their children for the same reasons as other parents. These are summarized in the following eight general categories.

- *Immaturity*. A large percentage of the military families were in this category. These couples were usually very young, insecure parents who often did not understand the needs and behavior of their young child. These can also be young service families who are removed from their civilian extended family and community of origin. This situation puts them in a totally new and different society at a time when they are least prepared for it.
- *Unrealistic Expectations*. Some parents expect their children to behave like adults in all stages of their psychosocial development. These parents generally had little or no understanding of what was "normal behavior" for their children.
- *Parent's Unmet Emotional Needs*. Some parents cannot even relate well to other adults. These parents usually expect their children to satisfy their own need for love, protection and feeling of high self-esteem. These couples are likely to be young service families where the husband is often away on military training exercises, guard duty or other job related details, and the young, lonely wife

decided that the house would seem less lonely with a child. There is little awareness of the financial and emotional cost this young child will represent to the family.

- *Parents in Frequent Crises.* Some families live from crisis to crisis and tend to take their frustrations out on their children. Crises with these families may be about such things as family finances, job and/or employment, law and/or the legal system, or major illness or death in the family. Prior to the report of the child maltreatment, the father is likely to have received several punishments under Article XV (minor punishment), letters of indebtedness, and may have been involved in domestic disturbances in the neighborhood in which the couple lives.
- *Lack of Parenting Knowledge.* This category made up a large percentage of the parents in the MAMC study. These were young parents who simply did not know the various stages of child development and who did not have access to an older adult to whom they could turn for such information. They were parents who did not have models of successful family relationships from which they could gain information about parenting skills.
- *Social Isolation.* This is more of a syndrome which tends to permeate the other categories. Social isolation can be due to many things. However, in the MAMC study the couples in this category tended to be young parents who did not live on the military post; who were away from home alone for the first time; whose own parents and relatives lived several hundred or a thousand miles away; and who distrusted the military system and the potential services it could make available to them. These socially isolated families usually did not have close friends or family to whom they could turn to share the heavy demands of trying to rear a small child, usually for the first time.
- *Parents who had Poor Childhood Experiences.* Some parents had been mistreated themselves as children. These parents characteristically exhibited a low sense of worth and usually had a poor self-image. They are likely to constitute a large percentage of the chronic child abusers who are unable to be objective about their own complicity in what happens to them as parents. This category is likely to include some parents who are borderline psychotics and who experience severe emotional problems.
- *Parents with Problems of Drug and Alcohol Abuse.* The excessive use of drugs and/or alcohol limits parents'

ability to care properly for their children. Parents in this category can usually also be categorized in one or more of the other groups, such as immaturity, or unmet emotional needs.

The above categories are neither all encompassing nor mutually exclusive. Several of them may be found together.

Rate of Abuse

There are no valid data to support the contention that the lifestyle and occupation of a soldier tend to make military parents more abusive than their civilian counterparts (Miller, 1976). A 1976 study by the Tacoma Area Junior League did not support that often stated contention. Military personnel and their families account for 10-12 percent of the population in the Tacoma-Pierce County, Washington, area. Military families accounted for slightly less than 10 percent of the reported cases of child abuse and neglect during calendar year 1975 (State of Washingtion, 1976). This low figure was in spite of the tighter military reporting system, the relative youth of the military family and other factors mentioned in this study.

System of Treatment and Intervention

Child abuse is not just an individual problem but a family problem. In order to be successful, treatment and intervention should be aimed not only at the abuser, but at the entire family. A high degree of coordination and communication is needed between agencies to manage a child advocacy treatment program in the military community properly.

The resources of the medical treatment facility (especially emergency room and department of pediatrics) are needed in order to provide for the medical evaluation, diagnosis and treatment of the battered and/or neglected child. The expertise of the psychiatrist is needed in order to help assess potential damage to the battered child; to help the team better understand the intrapsychic dynamics of the battering parents; and to help recommend the best type of disposition and treatment for the entire family. The psychology services are needed as part of the treatment team to assist with the testing, evaluation and treatment of both the battered child and the battering parents. The treatment, evaluation and assessment role of the social worker is a critical one. Social work can usually begin intervention and assessment at the time of crisis. They can provide marital and family counseling; they use reparenting as a treatment model and focus on correcting their distorted images and negative experience of being parents; they can provide positive group experience; and can open up new avenues of parent education and parent effectiveness training for the battering parents. The social worker, as primary therapist, can also provide an assessment of interpersonal relationships, another critical area with the battering parents. The community health nurse provides the necessary home assessment and progress reports of the battered child who remains in the home. The community health nurse can also help assess other community resources (military and civilian) which can be made available as part of the treatment plan for the family. The chaplain frequently is the first to develop a helping relationship with parents while the child is hospitalized. He can assist the family with moral and spiritual guidance and help with the assistance of family life education programs. The chaplaincy also provides the assessment and treatment team with a broader and somewhat different prospective than that provided by other members of the helping profession. The post community mental health activity and the mental hygiene consultation service (MHCS) provide an important linkage to the soldier's unit. These agencies can provide leverage in the unit and can help troop units bring pressure on the battering soldier/parent to follow recommended programs of treatment. These agencies, which are already dealing with troop units, can be a source of education for the battering parent as well as for the unit. The Army Community Service is the liaison to the command and the provider of volunteers for various aspects of the program. Volunteers are used as parent aides and homemakers for many of the young, distraught service families. Parent aides can also provide positive parenting models or can be a friend to share the heavy burden of parenting. The Judge Advocate General (JAG) representative makes sure the dispositions and recommendations made are legal and within the limits of the law. The JAG representative can also provide legal counsel for possible court appearances of team members and guidance for anticipated action of specific cases which appear before the team. The role of the Children's Protective Services (CPS) worker from the local county is indeed a critical one. The CPS worker provides the necessary court orders to keep the child in the hospital when parental consent is lacking or slow in coming. The CPS worker provides for the foster home placement and the representation of foster home worker to the CPCMT. The CPS worker assists and works with cases for court appearance and arranges for placement of children in custody when it has been deemed necessary by the court. The CPS worker indeed provides an important link to the civilian community and helps insure a close working relationship for those military families who reside off post, as did a majority of the families in the study. There are times when each of the professions and each agency wants to stake-out and guard its own turf zealously. The assistance, coordination, and professional expertise of all are needed in order to provide the comprehensive system of services which need to be available to the abusing parents in the military community.

Conclusion

The study reported in this chapter was retrospective analysis of military families who appeared before a Child Protection and Case Management Team during the four year period January 1972 — December 1975. Military families were compared with civilian child abuse families on similar variables. The study found that there are both similarities and differences. Military child abusers and their victims tend to be younger; military victims are more likely to suffer from abuse rather than neglect; sex of the abused child is not substantially different with the military victim; minority group families were slightly under-represented as is the case when controlling for the factor of race in civilian studies; surprisingly, mobility *per se* did not seem to make a difference with the military abusing family. Other studies have usually discussed lack of income as a major factor of child abuse. Lack of income did not appear to be a major factor with the military child abuser. A more significant factor than income is the position of the abusing parent within the military rank structure, the type of military unit to which he is assigned, and the feelings of self-esteem which he gets from the job he performs. These findings, of course, require further investigation.

Types of child abusers, i.e., acute, sporadic, and chronic, do not differ from military to the civilian sector. Both sets of parents tend to abuse their children for the same reasons. However, a more comprehensive system of treatment and intervention is needed in the military community. The successful military intervention and treatment program requires liaison, coordination, and communication both within various service treatment agencies and with agencies in the civilian community.

CHAPTER 9

GROUP TREATMENT: AN AUXILIARY TO EMERGENCY FOSTER CARE SERVICE IN A MILITARY COMMUNITY*

Amelia Wallace
Jeanne Dycus

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The Demonstration Project for Coordinated Delivery of Social Services to Children residing on a Military Base and in Surrounding Rural Counties serves the Fort Campbell Army Post and the adjoining Tennessee civilian community through a research and demonstration grant from the National Center on Child Abuse. The objectives of the Project are to promote a coordinated system of protective services in a semi-rural area using local, state, and military resources under the comprehensive emergency services model. Services provided include investigation, homemaker, caretaker, emergency foster care, and out-reach and follow-up services.

Fort Campbell is located on land which is under the civil jurisdiction of two states: Tennessee and Kentucky and four local counties: Montgomery and Stewart in Tennessee and Trigg and Christian in Kentucky. The military population includes 23,000 active duty personnel with 14,580 dependents off-post and 7,670 dependents on-post. There are 68,000 military retired and their dependents served by Fort Campbell. The Project's target population are those military personnel, active and retired, and their dependents who live in Montgomery and Stewart Counties, Tennessee, as well as the 72,000 civilian population of that area.

During 1976, the Project received 483 referrals of abuse or neglect. Each referral was investigated and 130 were validated to be abuse, 268 neglect, and 85 both abuse and neglect. Sixty percent of the total number of referrals were civilian, and forty percent were military-related. Abuse occurred more often in the military-related referrals than in the civilian referrals. Forty-nine percent of the total military referrals had elements of abuse, while forty-one percent of the civilian referrals were abuse-related.

The Project provided services on every referral received. In addition to investigation; caretaker, homemaker, emergency financial assistance, and outreach and follow-up services were provided to families in 393 referrals in order that the children might remain in their own homes. In 45 referrals, the crisis was too severe for the children to remain in their own homes, and emergency foster care services were provided 80 children.

The information presented in this chapter is based on an analysis of 40 of the 45 families who were provided emergency foster care service by the Project during 1976. Of the total 45 families, 25 were military and 20 were civilian. The forty families discussed include 20 military and 20 civilian families.

These 40 families will be described. A profile of the parents of children in foster care served by the Project will be given and then related to the classic profile of the abusing parent. Next, a comparison of the characteristics of the 20 military and 20 civilian parents will be made. The perpetrator will be discussed and further analyzed by comparing characteristics of the mothers according to referrals where the mother alone abused with instances where the mother and father together abused. The areas of family functioning where emotional support and social sanctions were missing will be pointed out. Group-work methods of intervention used to provide emotional support and social sanctions to nine of the 40 families will be described in relation to the effect group participation has on the mothers' behavior and social isolation. Changes in the mothers' behavior occurring after group participation will be related to reoccurrence of foster care placements and the mothers' behavior and social isolation at the time the second placement occurred.

These 40 families were primarily two-parent families with an average of 2.5 children per family. The average age of the father was 31 and the mother 27. They each had 11 years of education. The average family income was $5,537.

Of the 20 civilian families, the majority were two-parent families with three children per family. The average age of the fathers was 34, and the mothers, 33. Both parents had completed 10 years of school. Eight families were unemployed, and the remaining 12 of the 20 civilian families had blue-collar jobs. The average yearly income of those employed was $3,962.

Of the 20 military families, the majority were also predominately two-parent families. There was an average of 2 children per family. The average age of the fathers was 29 and the mothers 25. Both parents had completed 12 years of school. The average yearly income from the military was $7,112. Of the 20 couples, three were retired military, and 17 were active duty personnel. Five were officers, and 15 were enlisted men. The average length of service was eight years.

Comparing the two groups, we found, then, that the military families were younger, and had more income and education, but fewer children than the civilian families. Their marital status was more stable in that all but two of the 20 military parents were legally married at the time of referral; only eight of the 20 civilian parents were legally married. The military families were more socially isolated than the civilian families. One-half of the civilian families had extended family living nearby on which they were dependent at the time of crises. Only three of the 20 military families had extended family living nearby. Of those, two families were dependent upon their extended families, and one family was estranged.

As stated previously, the need for protective services was identified in all of the 40 referrals where emergency foster care placements occurred. Thirty-eight were acute crises. All of the 20 military referrals, and 18 of the 20 civilian referrals were acute. Two civilian referrals were chronic neglect situations where a crisis precipitated foster care placement. Of the 40 referrals; 9 were abuse, 14 were neglect, and 17 were abuse and neglect. Validation of abuse was 8 percent greater among the military referrals than among the civilian referrals.

Literature on abuse and neglect points out that, typically, parents who harm their children have low self-esteem, are unable to handle stress, are isolated and have marital and financial problems. The mother is more likely to abuse than the father. In both the military and civilian families in the target population, the mother contributed to the harm in over half the referrals. In the civilian families, the mother was the perpetrator in eight referrals, the mother and father together in eight referrals, the father in two referrals and a substitute father in two referrals. With the military families, the mother was the perpetrator in eleven referrals, the mother and father together in seven referrals, the father in one referral, and a brother in one referral. Thus, the mothers were more actively involved in the abuse/neglect incidences than the fathers.

The Project provided every family whose child was in foster care with services such as counseling; homemaker service, and transportation, as well as foster care service. The parents were also referred to local state and military resources for medical, psychological, and other support services as needed. The parents' needs were identified from a family diagnosis made jointly by a Project Counselor who served as the family's case manager and a multidisciplinary protective service child abuse team. In making the diagnoses and developing service plans with the families, it was found that individual parents were having personal adjustment problems; couples were having marital problems, and families were not well-integrated into community life.

Since the mothers were involved as perpetrators most often, their functioning was examined in referrals where the mother alone abused and where the mother and father together abused in relation to degree of emotional maturity, marital compatibility and social isolation. Emotional maturity was rated according to whether the mother could cope with stress; exhibited withdrawn or acting-out behavior, had outbursts of anger or frustration, or had a diagnosed emotional or intellectual problem. These factors were ranked so that the mothers' emotional maturity was described on a scale of 1 to 4, with 4 being the least mature (See Tables 9.1 and 9.2).

Compatibility in marriage was rated according to whether the mother was separated from her husband; the marital relationship had elements of physical abuse or emotional abuse, or the mother or father were engaged in extramarital relationships. These factors were ranked so that marital adjustment was described on a scale of 1 to 4, with 4 being the poorest adjustment.

TABLE 9.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF MOTHERS WHO WERE SOLE PERPETRATORS

Civilian			*Military*		
Emotional Maturity	Marital Adjustment	Social Isolation	Emotional Maturity	Marital Adjustment	Social Isolation
3	N.A.	1	2	3	2
4	N.A.	1	4	4	2
4	N.A.	1	4	1	2
3	N.A.	1	4	3	1
3	0	2	3	3	3
3	N.A.	1	4	0	3
3	N.A.	2	3	3	1
3	2	2	4	3	2
			1	0	1
			3	0	1
			4	0	2

The extent of social isolation was ranked according to the capacity of the mother to ask for help and form close relationships; the mother's established social ties in the community, or the mother's dependence upon extended family. These factors were ranked so that the extent of social isolation was described on a scale of 1 to 3, with 3 being the most isolated.

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TABLE 9.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF MOTHERS WHO WERE JOINT PERPETRATORS

Civilian			Military		
Emotional Maturity	Marital Adjustment	Social Isolation	Emotional Maturity	Marital Adjustment	Social Isolation
4	2	3	4	3	2
3	4	1	7	0	1
3	2	2	4	3	3
2	3	2	1	0	0
4	1	2	4	4	3
4	3	2	4	4	3
3	0	3	3	2	2
3	2	1			

Study of the group where the mothers were sole perpetrators showed that emotional maturity was the most important factor among military and civilian families. The military mothers were less mature than the civilian mothers. Social isolation was the second greatest factor, and military mothers were more isolated than civilian mothers. Among the civilian mothers, two of the eight were married. One had no marital problems, and one had minor marital problems. All of the eleven military mothers were married. Six had major marital problems, two had minor marital problems, and three had no marital problems.

In the group where the mothers were joint perpetrators, emotional maturity was again the most significant factor among military and civilian families. The military and civilian mothers were equally immature and were ranked high in immaturity. The military and civilian mothers were also ranked equally in relation to social isolation and marital adjustment.

In comparing civilian mothers who were sole perpetrators with civilian mothers who were joint perpetrators, there was no difference in their emotional maturity. The mothers who were joint perpetrators were more socially isolated than those who were sole perpetrators. Those mothers also suffered emotional abuse in their marital relationships.

In comparing military mothers who were sole perpetrators with military mothers who were joint perpetrators, there was no difference in their emotional maturity, marital adjustments, or social isolation.

The Project concluded from this data that problems experienced by the 40 families were most directly related to the personality development of the mothers and to the degree to which the mothers were socially isolated. None of the 40 mothers were assessed as having achieved a level of emotional maturity sufficient for independent functioning as a wife and mother. All of the mothers had poor communication skills. They also manifested little or inappropriate interest in their physical appearance, and lacked the skills needed to fulfill homemaking and child caring responsibilities.

The isolation which occurred in every referral had two dimensions. On an individual basis, the mothers suffered self isolation due to inadequate interpersonal relationships and no or poor marital relationships. On a family basis, the mothers suffered from a lack of integration into the community and a lack of extended family ties.

Services which were available and were provided to these 40 families were designed to strengthen individual behavior and homemaking and parenting skills. For the most part, the services were provided by Project counselors, homemakers, and caretakers, and foster parents through individual casework services. In light of the degree of emotional immaturity and the extent of social isolation of the mothers referred, as illustrated by the sample population described here, the Project felt its existing service delivery methods and resources were not sufficient to meet the mothers' needs for personality growth and social contact. Therefore, the Project initiated group treatment as well as individual counseling and supportive services. Participation in the group, however, was voluntary.

The group which was formed named itself Parents Talking Together. It was made up of 12 mothers, eight of whom were from the 40 families whose children were in emergency foster care. Treatment was planned and carried out with a multidisciplinary approach. The group's objectives were socialization, recreation, and education. The goals were to:

- Promote trust, personal growth, and communication skills among the mothers
- Encourage the development of social ties among group members and between the group members and the community
- Provide a substitute for the support and sanctions of absent extended families
- Promote and reinforce knowledge and skills in the areas of child care and family life

The Group met weekly for three hours. Each meeting began with a warm-up time for visiting. The period of socialization was followed by a rap session where the mothers could unload their fears and frustrations and brag on their accomplishments through the group process. Following the rap sessions, the group moved into a period of activity where recreation and/or education was promoted.

During the group's existence, social and recreational activities have included crafts; a trip to the state park for picnicking, swimming and tennis; pot-luck lunches and lunch in a restaurant; trips to an art gallery and to museums. Educational activities have included a parent-effectiveness training course; a consumer education course; sessions on personal grooming and health and hygiene, including family planning and venereal disease; a course on nutrition and food preparation where the mothers shared recipes and dishes; and a course on child health and development.

The group had ongoing leadership provided by the Department of Human Services Project Coordinator, a Public Health and a school nurse, and a psychologist. Consultants were brought in from the community to supplement the educational component of group activity. Project caretakers transported group members to the meetings and provided any needed child care during meetings. Each group member had a Project Counselor from whom she received individual counseling. Those two counselors were available to the group during meetings upon request by any mother to handle individual counseling needs that developed during the rap sessions.

The mothers who participated in the group had the advantage of increased contact with their individual counselors as well as contact with group leaders and outside consultants. They also had benefit of contact with other mothers in the group that mothers not participating in the group did not have.

The individual counselors were available to build immediately on the progress the individual mothers made in recognizing and working through their feelings of inadequacy in relation to their roles as wife and mother, during the group process. In addition, due to a one-to-three ratio of group leaders to group members, the group leaders were available to talk and counsel with group members on a one-to-one or small-group basis during the socialization and educational phases of each group meeting.

The group's structure, leadership, and activities provided the mothers friendship, acceptance, and a sense of accomplishment. The group leaders also provided role models for the mothers. Relationships developed rapidly due to relaxation of traditional counselor/client roles by the structure of the group meetings, variation in where the meetings occurred, and planning of activities such as crafts in which the leaders and mothers were mutually engrossed. The group members provided support to each other. It was found that the mothers formed interpersonal relations which the group process nurtured. The relationships, in fact, extended beyond group meetings and thus, promoted social life in the community.

Of the 12 mothers in the group, nine were from the population of 40 mothers discussed in this paper. Those nine mothers have participated in group treatment from one to 18 month periods. The average length of participation has been seven months.

The mothers in the group had the characteristics shown in Table 9.3.

TABLE 9.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF MOTHERS IN GROUP

Sole Perpetrator						*Joint Perpetrator*					
Civilian			*Military*			*Civilian*			*Military*		
E.M.	*M.A.*	*S.I.*	*E.M.*	*M.A.*	*S.I.*	*E.M.*	*M.A.*	*S.I.*	*E.M.*	*M.A.*	*S.I.*
3	0	2				3	4	1			
						3	2	1			
			4	3	1				4	3	3
			4	0	3						
			3	3	1						
			4	3	2						
			1	1	1						

E.M. — Emotional Maturity
M.A. — Marital Adjustment
S.I. — Social Isolation

Characteristics of the mothers in the group were similar to those of the mothers described previously in relation to degree of emotional maturity, marital compatibility, and social isolation.

Of the nine mothers in the group, the mothers who were either sole perpetrators or joint perpetrators were equally immature. The sole perpetrators, however, were more isolated. Marital problems were non-existent in two families, were minor in two families, and major in five families. While there was a difference in emotional maturity of the civilian and military mothers in the 40 mothers, there was no difference in the emotional maturity of the civilian and military mothers in the treatment group. Social isolation was minor for the military and civilian group mothers in all but two instances where military mothers suffered from major isolation. The military mothers in the treatment group were less isolated than the military mothers in the target population.

Two mothers in the treatment group had no marital problems, minor marital problems existed in two instances, and major marital problems in five instances. There were no differences in the marital adjustments of the mothers in the treatment group and in the 40 mothers in the target population.

During participation in the treatment group, the nine mothers experienced changes in their roles as mothers in that their children were returned from foster care. Incidences of reoccurrence in families where the mother was in the treatment group were compared with incidences in the 40 mother target population. Comparisons were also made of the nine mothers' individual emotional maturity, marital adjustment, and social isolation at the time of referral, at the time abuse or neglect reoccurred, and at the time the mothers left the treatment group.

Of the nine mothers in the group, eight had their child returned. Seven had children returned to their care on a permanent basis, and one had a mentally delayed child returned to her care from a residential facility on holidays and weekends. One child was placed with his grandmother from emergency foster care.

Of the seven who were reunited with the children, three did not have to have their children replaced in foster care. Two were military mothers, one of which was the sole perpetrator, and one was a joint perpetrator. One was a civilian mother and a joint perpetrator. Five mothers were required to return their children to foster care. Of those five, one mother was able to care for the child without insuring placements after a two-day emergency foster care placement due to the mother's illness; one mother was able to voluntarily surrender her child for adoption; one mother was able to recognize stress in relation to her developmentally delayed child and ask for respite care when needed on weekends. Two mothers have not learned to cope with or resolve their impulse to harm their children. The two mothers who achieved no success represented both the civilian and military population. One mother's child was placed in long-term foster care when replacement in foster care occurred, and one mother fled to another state where she was picked up as a referral on a new abuse incident. Two military and one civilian mother developed acceptable coping alternatives to providing permanent care. Thus, of the nine group mothers, the majority of which were military, more were able than not able to cope with their parenting responsibilities after group treatment. Of those mothers who were not in the treatment group, less than half were able to develop methods of coping with their parenting responsibilities when reunited with their child and were involved with further harm to the child. The success of the mothers in the treatment group was related to changes in the status of their emotional maturity and social isolation, as shown in Table 9.4.

The emotional maturity of the mothers in the treatment group increased in six of the eight mothers whose children were returned and had to be replaced. Emotional maturity remained stable in two

TABLE 9.4 CHANGE IN MOTHERS' CHARACTERISTICS

Mother	*Characteristics At Time of Initial Referral*			*Characteristics When Child Returned Home Had to be Replaced*			*Characteristics At Time Mother Left Group*		
	E.M.	*M.A.*	*S.I.*	*E.M.*	*M.A.*	*S.I.*	*E.M.*	*M.A.*	*S.I.*
1	3	4	1	4	4	1	3	0	1
2	3	2	1	4	2	1	2	1	1
3	3	4	0				1	0	1
4	3	3	1				1	3	0
5	4	3	1	4	0	1	4	0	1
6	4	0	0				1	1	0
7	4	0	3	3	0	2	3	0	2
8	4	3	2	2	2	0	2	2	0
9	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0

of the mothers. There was temporary regression in emotional maturity in two mothers when the replacement occurred; however, there was no permanent regression in any mother.

The marital adjustment of the mothers in the treatment group improved for six of the eight mothers whose children were returned and had to be replaced. It remained constant for one mother but became worse for another mother. There were no significant differences in the mothers' marital adjustments between the time the replacements occurred and the time the mothers left the treatment group.

Social isolation of the mothers in the treatment group was eliminated in three of the eight mothers whose children were returned and had to be replaced. It was improved for one mother and remained constant for four mothers.

The effect the treatment group had on the mothers has been attributed to the mother's establishing social ties both within and outside the group setting and to the group providing its members a pseudo-extended family.

The group process enabled the mothers to establish relationships with each other. These relationships were also carried over outside the setting of group meetings. The mothers now have social ties in their communities. Of the eight mothers in the group, six have established patterns of interaction which include:

- Daily telephone contact with each other
- Exhange of visits in each other's homes

- Baby-sitting for each other
- Providing each other transportation

Four mothers have progressed beyond the point of establishing social ties and have formed pseudo-extended family relationships. Additionally, they have involved their husbands in these relationships. Couples are going out to dinner together, playing cards, etc. Also, the four families have taken mothers from other families into their homes to live temporarily in times of crises.

Group activities and the relationships which exist within the group are providing the mothers alternatives to social isolation. They are receiving social and emotional support from the group and are having expectations set for them by the group. The mothers must perform within the group's expectations in relation to personal behavior and child care. Thus, the internal control which is inconsistent in their behavior is imposed by the group. They gain approval for progress they make in their marital adjustments and their parenting. The group also sanctions the mothers if they regress into old patterns of behavior. The group also provides the mothers with individuals with whom they can identify and who will listen, give advice, and provide encouragement in decision-making matters such as budgeting, child care and discipline, and courtship and marriage. Thus, the group, as a whole, acts as a substitute for an extended family and provides a relaxed social environment where the effect of the group process on the individual mother's behavior is primarily indirect, just as many of the dynamics of the relationships among extended family members are, for the most part, unconscious.

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CHAPTER 10

THE MILITARY FAMILY AND PARENT EFFECTIVENESS TRAINING: A CALL FOR RESEARCH

Thomas Gordon

A parent training program I designed in 1962, called Parent Effectiveness Training (P.E.T.), has been delivered to 300,000 parents in every state and in 14 foreign countries. Its delivery system involves over 5,000 professionals who teach the P.E.T. course in their communities after receiving special instructor training and authorization by my organization, Effectiveness Training, Inc. This makes P.E.T. the most widely utilized parent training program in the United States.

Among those who have taken P.E.T. are thousands of parents in the military, both at bases in the United States and at bases in foreign countries. In 1977, approximately 3,000 military parents will have completed the P.E.T. courses, in most cases taught by chaplains trained by our staff. P.E.T. has also been utilized by pediatricians in the Air Force Child Advocacy Program. In response to the Surgeon General's recent call for creative solutions to the child abuse problem in military families, several bases have instituted P.E.T. training.

Although informal reports from our instructors have been universally positive about the effects of P.E.T. on military families, to my knowledge no research studies have been set up to evaluate the outcomes of P.E.T. in such families. The purpose of this paper is to make a case for the importance of such a research study in the hopes of stimulating interest somewhere within the military in conducting a well-designed study of the effects of P.E.T. on the military family.

Outcome studies of P.E.T. have been done by a number of independent investigators throughout the country, primarily M.A. and Ph.D. candidates. I am familiar with ten such studies, but, as would be expected by anyone familiar with the quality of theses and dissertations, most are flawed by inadequate design or faulty statistical procedures. Nevertheless, I have reviewed all these studies and abstracted from them all of the statistically significant changes shown by either the parents or their children:

- Greater confidence in themselves as parents (Garcia, 1971; Larson, 1972; Lillibridge, 1971).
- Greater mutual understanding between parent and child (Garcia, 1971).
- Greater mutual trust between parent and child (Garcia, 1971).
- Greater parental acceptance and understanding (Hanley, 1973).
- Increased trust in children and willingness to allow autonomy (Hanley, 1973; Larson, 1972; Lillibridge, 1971).
- Better understanding of children (Knowles, 1970).
- Less inclination to use authority (Knowles, 1970; Peterson, 1970).
- Reduction in authoritarian attitudes (Knowles, 1970).
- Children of P.E.T. parents improved in school performance (Larson, 1972).
- Increased insight into behavior of children (Larson, 1972).
- Improvements in parents' self-concept (Larson, 1972).
- Fewer concerns and problems (Larson, 1972).
- Increase in acceptance of children (Lillibridge, 1971).
- Children of P.E.T. parents perceived parents as more accepting and less rejecting (Lillibridge, 1971).
- More distaste for punitive and rigid parental controls.
- More willingness to hear problems and complaints of children (Peterson, 1970).
- More willingness to accept child's rights to hold different view from parents (Peterson, 1970).
- More willing to admit that conflicts can be dealt with directly and openly (Peterson, 1970).
- More democratic in attitudes toward family (Stearn, 1970).
- Children of P.E.T. graduates increased in their self-esteem (Stearn, 1970).

- Children designated as underachievers and whose parents took P.E.T. improved one full grade point from the first to the third quarter (Larson, 1972).

While these studies, either individually or lumped together, do no provide sufficient scientific validation of the effectiveness of P.E.T., they give some support to our experience that the P.E.T. course does produce positive changes in parents' behavior, which in time will result in positive changes in the behavior of their children. I believe that such changes in time will improve the relationships both between parents and children and between parent and parent, thus strengthening the family as a unit and improving the psychological health of its individual members.

I further believe that it could be demonstrated that parents of military families who take P.E.T. would, as a consequence of their happier family life, adjust better to the rigors of military life. A number of hypotheses immediately come to mind:

(a) parents would remain in the military longer than would non-trained controls;

(b) parents would score higher on a measure of job satisfaction than would non-trained controls;

(c) parents would score higher on a measure of morale than would non-trained controls;

(d) mothers would cope more constructively with military induced separations from their husbands than would non-trained controls; and

(e) mothers would feel more adequate as a parent in the absence of the father than would non-trained controls.

In addition to these important outcomes, there are other kinds of predictions that would be amenable to testing which are related to changes that would result in obvious benefits to the military organizations:

(a) a reduction in child abuse and neglect;

(b) a reduction in adolescent drug abuse;

(c) fewer family requests for mental health services, and social services and medical services;

(d) less rebellion and delinquent behaviors of adolescents in military families; and

(e) fewer divorces in military families.

These hypotheses are not all drawn out of thin air, but rather they are derived from actual reports obtained from a sample of over 100 P.E.T. graduates with whom we did in-depth interviews and collected critical incidents. The findings from this study are detailed in a recent book (Gordon, 1976). For example, we talked with parents who, after taking P.E.T., stopped using all forms of physical punishment. We have a case history of an identified child abusing mother who worked out of this pattern of violence with the help of a P.E.T. course. Another long case history documents how P.E.T. completely turned around a family with four kids, two of them heavy drug users (see Gordon, 1976). Also, parents have told us, "Our kids don't get sick anymore." One mother claimed that her P.E.T. skills cured her son of asthma, and many parents have told us, "P.E.T. saved our marriage."

While many trained and authorized P.E.T. instructors are already in place in the Army, Navy and Air Force, others might have to be trained for the experiments I am suggesting. This training consists of attendance at a five and one-half day intensive workshop conducted by one of our six experienced trainers. Training could be done on site at any military base selected for this research project. I have chosen not to describe the content or the methodologies of the P.E.T. course because of time limitations. However, these are described in full in the book, P.E.T. — *Parent Effectiveness Training* (Gordon, 1975).

CHAPTER 11

CHARACTERISTICS AND MANAGEMENT OF CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT AMONG MILITARY FAMILIES*

Sandra Maley Schnall

BACKGROUND

Project CARE (Child Advocacy Resources Expansion) was funded in 1975 by the Office of Child Development, Children's Bureau, DHEW, as a research and demonstration project. The project was designed to demonstrate the effectiveness of a cooperative approach by the San Antonio community, the military, and the Texas State Department of Human Resources (DHR) in providing a broad spectrum of services to military families for the detection, prevention, diagnosis and treatment of child abuse and neglect. The project encompassed five military installations, two military medical centers, the Texas State Department of Human Resources and numerous community agencies.

The target population for programs in prevention, detection, and treatment of child abuse and neglect was estimated at approximately 200,000 active duty and retired military personnel and their dependents in the San Antonio metropolitan area, representing nearly 20 percent of the total population of San Antonio (see Table 11.1).

TABLE 11.1 San Antonio Military Population

	Active Duty	*Retired*
Sponsors	42,344*	20,000*
Dependents	84,000**	30,000**

*San Antonio Chamber of Commerce, 1976.

**Dependency ratio of 3.5 x 24,000 married sponsors.

Active duty and retired military sponsors and their dependents have a multitude of child advocacy resources available within the two military medical centers and the San Antonio community. Both Brooke Army Medical Center (BAMC) and Wilford Hall USAF Medical Center (WHMC) have long-established cooperative arrangements with the Texas Department of Human Resources (DHR) Protective Services staff for the reporting and treatment of child abuse and neglect cases. Historically, DHR representatives have been allowed to investigate child abuse on local military installations even though these federal reservations are not subject to State law. In addition, DHR workers participate in the management and treatment aspects of child abuse and neglect cases by attending multidisciplinary child protection council meetings at each military installation. Designated protective services workers handle military cases exclusively, facilitating provisions and coordination of services between the military and civilian bureaucracies.

During CARE's planning period a literature review revealed that the incidence, demographic characteristics, case management, and case disposition of child abuse and neglect in the military community had not been well-defined, explored, or researched. The incidence of abuse and neglect in the civilian community is also an unknown quantity with a wide range of estimates existent in the literature. One recent review of the numerous and conflicting incidence studies concluded that information on the incidence of child abuse and neglect in the United States did not exist (Cohen and Sussman, 1975). In spite of this conclusion speculation is widespread that the incidence of abuse and neglect is significantly greater among military families than among civilians. This speculation appears to be based upon the anecdotal experiences of selected clinicians rather than upon any systematic examination of the problem.

Data on child abuse and neglect in the military is derived from cases reported to military child advocacy personnel. These data are often incorrectly interpreted as the incidence, or the actual occurrence, of abuse and neglect in the military population. Incidence and reported rates are distinctly different variables and are not interchangeable.

Review of the literature on child abuse and neglect has revealed relatively few articles dealing systematically with child abuse in the military community. Wichlacz (1975) reviewed 56 cases brought before the Child Abuse and Neglect Board at a U.S. Army hospital in Germany during the fiscal year 1972. This hospital served the largest American population concentration in Europe. Physical abuse categorized 36 percent of the cases, sexual abuse 7 percent and neglect was evident in 32 percent. In 9 percent of the cases the victim died. Wichlacz concluded that overcrowded living conditions, social isolation, cultural shock, and separation of household heads constituted significant life stresses which increased the risk of abuse.

Miller (1972), in an unpublished paper, reviewed cases referred to the Infant and Child Protection Council at William Beaumont Hospital, Fort Bliss, Texas. Over the five-year period reviewed by Miller roughly one-third of the cases were classified as physical or sexual abuse and another one-third were categorized as neglect. In 2 percent of the cases the victim died.

The Air Force Office of Special Investigation (OSI) statistics shown in Table 11.2 reflect established cases reported during 1976 to the OSI central registry in Washington in accordance with Air Force Regulation No. 160-38. The rate of neglect reported to the OSI was significantly lower than those shown in the other two studies. Invalid cases were not forwarded to the OSI and therefore complete data were not available.

TABLE 11.2 Previous Military Child Abuse Studies

	N	*Physical Abuse*	*Sexual Abuse*	*Neglect*	*Death*	*Invalidated*
Wichlacz 1971	56	36%	7%	32%	9%	16%
Miller 1967-1972	229	27%	7%	36%	2%	13%
USAF OSI 1976	556	62%	17%	19%	2%	No Data

PURPOSE

Project CARE recognized that although some variables were reported consistently, a sufficient data base on child abuse and neglect in the military environment did not exist, and that additional research was needed. In August 1976 CARE began a research effort designed to provide much needed information on a wide range of topics including:

- The reported rate of child abuse/neglect among the San Antonio military population.
- Referral sources and pathways into local child protection programs.
- Demographic characteristics of military families reported to local civilian and military child advocacy programs.
- Stress factors existent in the family situation.
- Military and civilian service delivery systems' response to reported cases of abuse and neglect (time track).
- Interaction between representatives of complex bureaucracies — military and civilian — in responding to reported cases of abuse and neglect.
- Case management issues related to military-civilian

cooperation in child protection.

- Factors associated with differential case disposition of military families.
- Services provided and resources utilized.
- Obstacles to service delivery and interagency coordination.
- Frequency and nature of command involvement; impact of a report of child abuse/neglect on the career of the military sponsor.

METHODOLOGY

Between 1 October 1976 and 30 April 1977 each new case of suspected child abuse and neglect in military families reported to the five San Antonio military installations or to the legally mandated community agency for such referrals — the Texas State Department of Public Welfare — was included in the research sample. A structured data schedule was designed and utilized to facilitate uniform collection of information. A certified psychiatric social worker gathered information on each case from various sources including interviews with primary service providers, case record reviews, and attendance of weekly military child protection committee meetings. Cases were followed through closure to gather complete data on case disposition, services needed and provided, and military and civilian resources utilized.

This method of following cases prospectively — from the point of entry into the military or civilian service delivery system through case closure or stabilization in treatment — was selected over a retrospective review of case records for several reasons. Such a retrospective case record review was conducted in late 1975 by Project CARE, and was hampered by limitations, inconsistencies, and omissions in the records. Social services records sometimes omitted information related to the victim's medical condition or medical treatment received. The idiosyncratic recording styles of clinicians also made consistent data collection difficult. In addition, because child abuse cases often involved intervention by multiple agencies and professional disciplines, no single case record contained all pertinent data from initial case identification and opening through treatment and closure. This incomplete case recording prevented a comprehensive assessment of medical, social, psychological and environmental stress factors that might have contributed to an abusive or neglectful family situation. Since no central case record repository or referral index existed, accurate determination of the total number of military families reported to civilian and military child protection personnel was impossible.

The methodology of the 1976-1977 research study was selected over the 1975 case record review because multiple data sources could be tapped, maximizing research variables and enhancing accuracy of data. Inconsistencies in case data could be easily resolved through direct contacts with primary service deliverers while the cases were open and active rather than relying solely on case record documentation, which is a limited data source. Attendance at multidisciplinary team case reviews would facilitate data collection on the roles and involvement of multiple service deliverers.

Cases which were air-evacuated from other installations to BAMC or WHMC for medical treatment were excluded from the study due to the limited data available and the case management and other special problems which characterized these cases. This is one possible area for future research. Cases opened prior to 1 October 1976 and active beyond this date were also excluded from the study.

Because there are variations in definitions of abuse and neglect by military and civilian service deliverers, the following definitions were used:

- *Child abuse:* Minimal or gross physical, mental, or emotional injury/trauma, sexual abuse, sexual molestation or maltreatment of a child resulting from non-accidental causes, ordinarily inflicted by the direct or indirect actions of persons responsible for the child's care or welfare.
- *Child neglect:* Acts of omission or commission which deprive a child of living conditions which provide the minimally needed physical and emotional requirements for life, growth, and development; e.g., lack of food, inadequate housing and clothing, lack of needed medical attention, abandonment, lack of supervision or guidance, unmet educational needs, etc.

RESULTS

During the seven-month study period 195 military families were reported to civilian and military child protection personnel. As Figure 11.1 illustrates, one-half of these referrals were established as cases of abuse or neglect, one-third were invalidated, and the remainder were considered suspected or potential abuse/neglect cases.

Active duty military families were involved in 83 percent of the established cases, while retired families were involved in 17 percent. In 6 percent of the cases the mother was the military sponsor. Military sponsors were heavily concentrated in the E1-E7 pay grades. Thirteen percent of the established cases of abuse involved officer personnel. Twenty percent of the families lived on a local military installation.

As of 31 July 1977, 128 of the 195 cases in the sample were closed. Sixty-seven cases remained open and were being followed while they received ongoing child protective services and therapy. Detailed analysis of the entire sample was scheduled for completion by November 1977. The 128 closed cases serve as the foundation for this paper, however, until data from the remaining 67 are included, the analysis of findings must be considered preliminary.

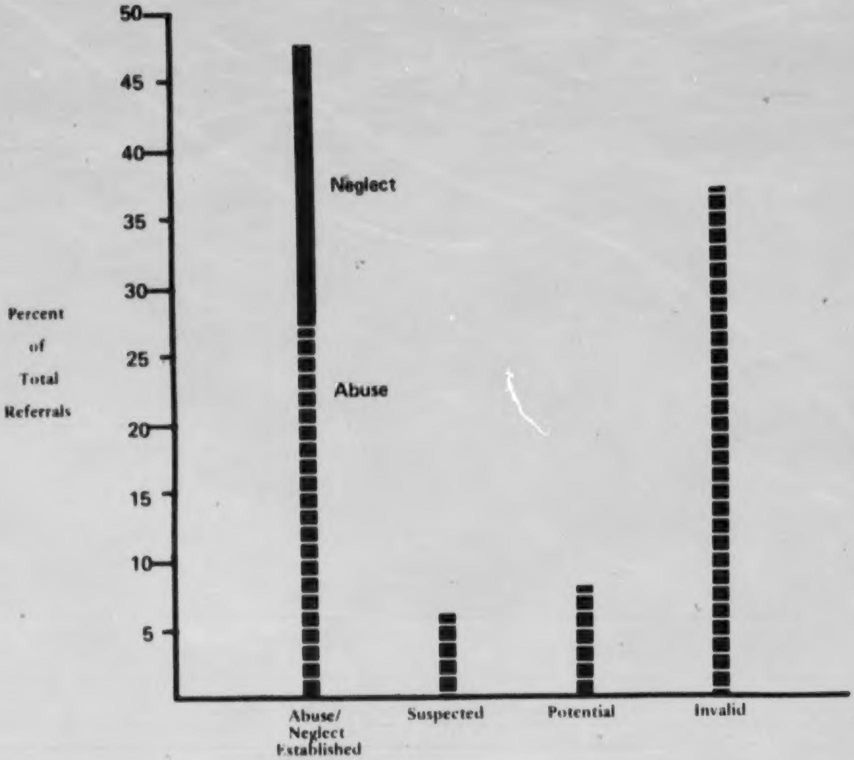

FIGURE 11.1. Case Status After Intake (N = 195)

Among 128 closed cases 39 percent were established as cases of abuse and neglect. Potential abuse and neglect were identified in 6 percent. In these cases, 85 children were identified as victims, and males (58%) significantly outnumbered females (42%). Children ranged in age from two weeks to 18 years. One-fourth were less than three years old and one-fifth were teenagers. The mean age of abused children was 10.2 years, and of neglected children 5.1 years.

In Table 11.3 the categories of injury and neglect suffered by the children reflect a high frequency of supervisory and physical neglect and of bruises. This finding is due to the case selection process which involved referrals to a community agency (DHR) as well as to the military medical centers. Studies which have drawn cases only from medical center populations reflect a much higher frequency of physical abuse than neglect.

*TABLE 11.3 Types of Injury/Neglect**

Type	*Percent Children Involved*
Bruises	19
Abrasions	6
Fractures	2
Other	2
Sexual	1
Supervisory neglect	32
Physical neglect	19
Medical neglect	7
Failure to thrive	1
Other	2
Emotional abuse/neglect	9
Potential abuse/neglect	13

*Several children suffered multiple injuries/neglect; therefore the total exceeds 100 percent.

One-fourth of the children received medical examination and treatment with 12 percent requiring hospitalization. Two children died; however, neither death was attributed to abuse or neglect (a teenage boy with a refractory seizure disorder and a two-year old mongoloid girl who died during surgery for congential heart disease). Although the sample of closed cases contained only one case of sexual abuse, additional sexual abuse referrals are in the sample currently open and being followed. Prior abuse or neglect was suspected or substantiated in one-third of the cases.

The biological parent was most frequently identified as responsible for abuse and neglect (84%), while a stepparent or other caretaker was responsible for the remainder. Males were identified as responsible for abuse three times as often as females. Responsibility for neglectful situations was placed with the mother or shared by both parents. Overall the abusive or neglectful caretakers were evenly distributed between the sexes.

The high level of family stress in established cases of abuse and neglect is reflected in Table 11.4 High frequencies of marital and family discord were evident. Nearly one in five wives had been abused by their husbands — some on isolated occasions, others more frequently to the point of injury which required medical treatment or hospitalization. On a few occasions restraining orders were sought. Mental illness resulting in treatment or hospitalization or causing significant interference with functioning was evident in 10 percent of the families. Alcohol abuse was present in 8 percent of the cases, and the level of interference with functioning was severe enough to result in the sponsor's discharge from the service in 6 percent.

TABLE 11.4 Stress Factors In Family Situation

Factor	*Percent Families (N = 50)*
Family discord	36
Lack of tolerance of child's disobedience	32
Marital discord	30
Broken family	26
Loss of control during discipline	24
Insufficient income	20
Recent relocation	20
Abuse of spouse	18
Military separation	16
Parental history of abuse as child	14
Marital separation	14
Different backgrounds	10
Social isolation	10
Mental illness	10
New baby/pregnancy	8
Alcohol abuse	8
Inadequate housing	6
Police/court record	6
Drug abuse	4
Mental retardation	4
Incapacity due to physical handicap/chronic illness	4

A case example illustrates the high level of multiple stress among these families:

> *Mrs. M., the nineteen year-old dependent wife of Staff Sgt. M., brought her two-year old son into the emergency room (ER) fearing he had taken an overdose of Tylenol. The child was actually suffering from a respiratory illness, but because he had been playing with an empty medicine bottle, Mrs. M. became frightened. She expressed difficulty in coping with her situation to the ER physician and was referred to Project CARE. Multiple stresses were evident and the family situation was considered potentially abusive. Social assessment revealed that Sgt. M. had been assigned to duty overseas and took the family with him. However, Mrs. M. and her son returned to the United States where she initiated divorce proceedings because of Sgt. M's alcoholism and physical abuse toward her and her son. Since her return, Mrs. M. had been living in a vermin-infested shack in one of the poorest sections of San Antonio. Receiving minimal financial support from Sgt. M., she was forced to borrow money for utility services. In addition, she had no means of transportation. With only a sixth-grade education she was unable to find work except as a waitress, go-go dancer, and sometimes as a prostitute. She suffered from low self-esteem, extreme loneliness, and depressions which immobilized her for long periods of time. She expressed frustration at having to care for the child and felt she was too young to be a parent. Military and civilian resources were mobilized in an aggressive approach to provide outreach, concrete services, and supportive counseling.*

Figure 11.2 illustrates the frequency with which selected services were provided some families and refused by others. Refusal of services constituted a significant problem. Because a large proportion of cases currently open and being followed are receiving treatment, this variable (which excludes the open cases) is incomplete. Data will be reported after final analysis which will include these cases.

Legal actions taken, the role of the commanding officer, and possible impact of a child abuse/neglect referral on the sponsor's military career were also examined. Legal action was taken in only 4 percent of the cases, generally involving temporary removal of a child for his protection from the home. In one case, a five-year old child was abused during a pre-placement visit with his prospective adoptive parents. He was immediately removed from the home, and the adoption proceedings cancelled.

Intervention by the military sponsor's commanding officer was necessary in 20 percent of the cases for a wide variety of reasons. These included applications for compassionate reassignment,

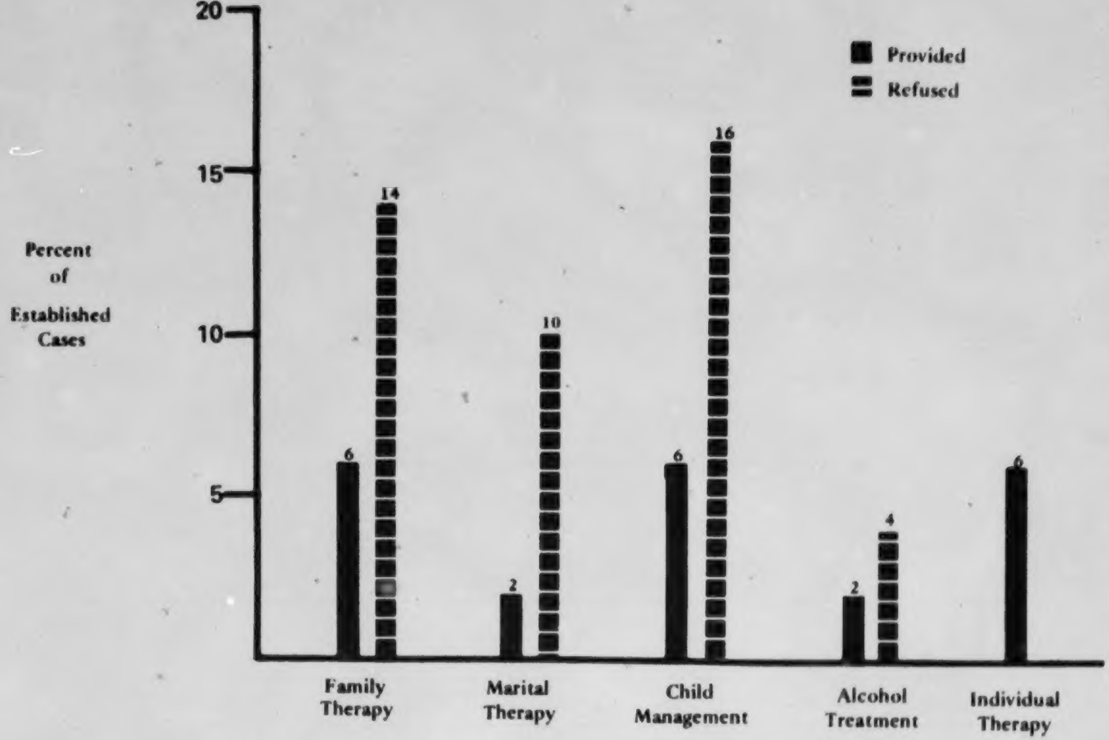

FIGURE 11.2. Therapeutic Services Provided/Refused in 50 Abusing/Neglectful Families

difficulty in locating a military family for social work assessment, and a sponsor's refusal to cooperate in the assessment or in keeping recommended appointments for medical examinations of the children. Command involvement was sometimes elicited to assure followup services to families transferring to other installations. In some cases the sponsor contacted his commanding officer for support and defense against the allegation of abuse or neglect. If the commanding officer was not oriented to the child advocacy program, his support of an already resistant military sponsor created a significant obstacle to service delivery. Fortunately, situations such as this were infrequent.

Career impact was difficult to assess. One sponsor who had cooperated in receiving marital therapy and child management counseling temporarily lost his security clearance pending the outcome of an OSI investigation and mental status exam. Three other sponsors were discharged from the service, but these actions had been initiated prior to the referral for protective services and were based on alcoholism and secondary problems related to excessive drinking. Long-term career impact, such as effect on promotions, was impossible to determine.

The response of military and civilian service delivery systems to reported cases of child abuse and neglect was also examined. As illustrated in Figure 11.3 case referrals were received from many different sources. Neighbors and friends constituted the most frequent referral sources, followed by schools and medical personnel. Neighbors provided almost twice as many referrals as medical staff.

The importance of good liaison and communication between military and civilian child protection workers is illustrated by the fact that the civilian child protection agency (DHR) served as the initial point-of-entry for approximately two-thirds of the referrals for child abuse and neglect among military families. Military child advocacy officers and physicians served as the initial point-of-entry for the remaining one-third of the referrals. Eleven percent of the referrals come into the DHR night protective services unit. Project CARE received 2 percent because of established procedures which required referrals to come through military service deliverers. Civilian protective services workers were relied upon heavily to intervene in military family problems and made the initial social work contact in 71 percent of the cases. Project CARE is an extension of the military service delivery system and made the initial contact in 12 percent of the cases.

The high level of interagency cooperation and interface between military and civilian service deliverers became evident upon receipt of a referral. Military and civilian child protection personnel began the process of working together to assess family diagnosis and stresses and to determine strategies for intervention. One intervenor functioned as case manager, with the responsibility of coordinating and integrating services to the family. Civilian protective services

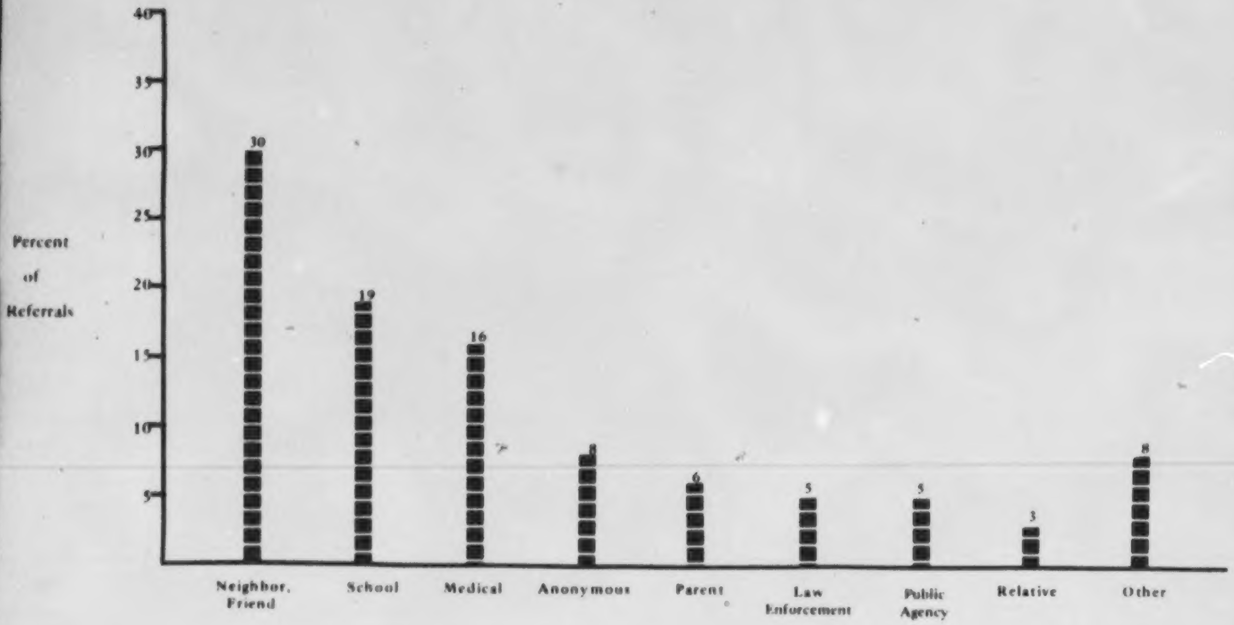

Fig. 3. Source of Initial Referral (N=128)

FIGURE 11.3. Source of Initial Referral (N = 128)

workers functioned as case managers in almost 3/4 of the cases. Military clinicians and Project CARE staff served as case managers in 20 percent. Joint case managers — military and civilian — were necessary in 10 percent of the cases.

A multidisciplinary team involving military and civilian interaction and collaboration monitored the management of child abuse and neglect cases at both military medical centers. Two-thirds of the cases were discussed in regular team case reviews, with presentation ranging from brief information regarding a referral (45%) to complete assessment, case staffing, and monitoring of a case through treatment and closure (22%).

A time track was developed (see Figure 11.4) to illustrate response to child abuse/neglect referral and time lags between initial referral and first social work contact, first treatment contact, and initial presentation to the multidisciplinary team. One-fourth of the families were seen by a social worker within 48 hours of the initial referral. Over one-half were seen within two weeks. One-third of the cases were reviewed by a multidisciplinary team within two weeks of the referral. Treatment was provided to 12 percent of the families and two-thirds of these began receiving therapy within one month of the referral.

Although two-thirds of the referrals were discussed in multidisciplinary team meetings less than one-third involved joint intervention by military and civilian service deliverers. Single system intervention (either military or civilian) characterized 70 percent of the cases. Referral information was shared by military and civilian service deliverers in the majority of cases. Exceptions were families who refused to give DHR consent and those few cases assigned to DHR workers unfamiliar with reporting procedures for military cases.

The most frequent reason for closure of established, suspected, and potential cases was stabilization of the family situation. The DHR and military child advocacy officers referred 10 percent of the cases to gaining installations or appropriate civilian child protection agencies to assure followup services to military families who moved from San Antonio to other communities due to reassignment, retirement, or discharge.

DISCUSSION

Texas has been extremely active in support of efforts to identify, treat, and prevent child abuse and neglect. The Texas Family Code (Section 34.01) requires *any person* to make a report if he has "cause to believe that a child's physical or mental health or welfare has been or may be adversely affected by abuse or neglect." Immunity from civil or criminal liability is granted. The county child welfare unit (administered by the State Department of Human Resources) is given responsibility for making an investigation after receiving a report. Although San Antonio military installations are

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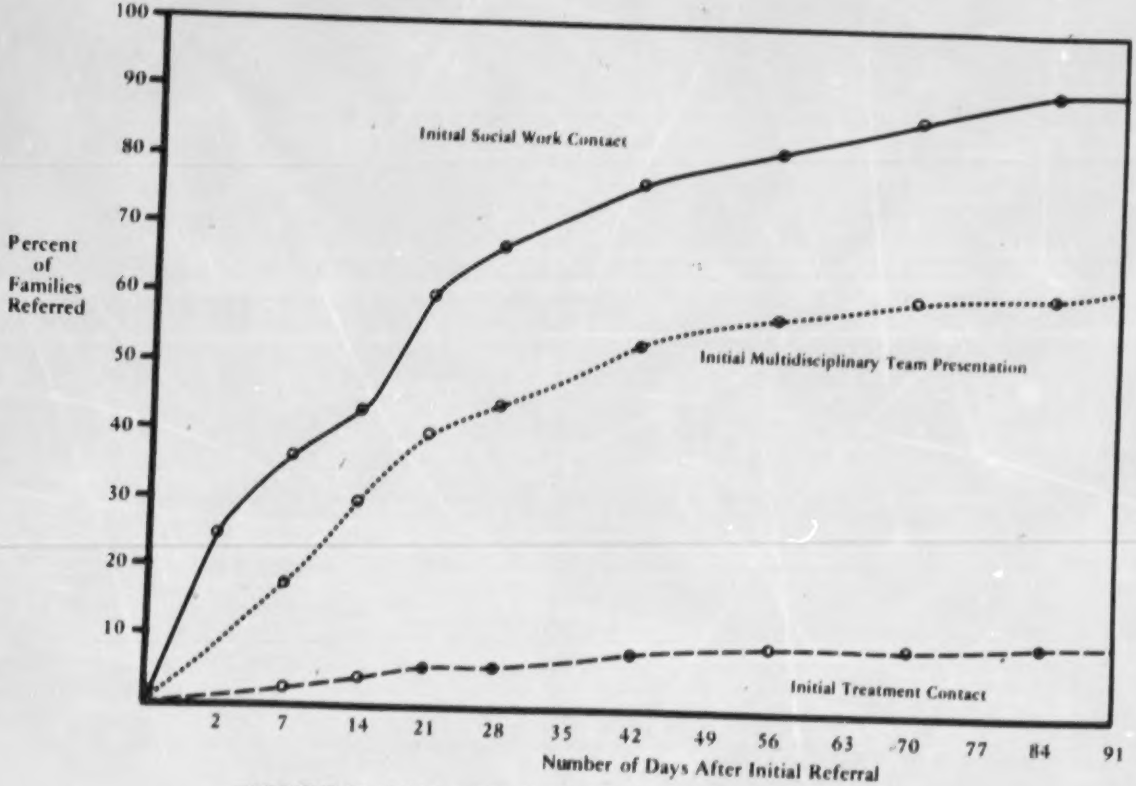

FIGURE 11.4. Time Track of Response to Referral (N = 128)

under exclusive federal jurisdiction, and thus not subject to State law, military authorities report nearly all suspected cases to the county child welfare unit of DHR. Additionally, to encourage reporting, in 1974, the State of Texas launched a massive public awareness campaign which increased reports of suspected child maltreatment eight-fold.

In an environment with such an active and successful effort to stimulate and respond to reports of abuse and neglect, *Project CARE data failed to support the widespread assumption that the reported rate of child abuse is several times greater in the military than the civilian population.* In fact, the reported rate of child abuse and neglect was proportionately higher among civilian than military families in the San Antonio area. Between 1 October 1976 and 30 April 1977, 1,698 civilian and military families in the San Antonio area were reported for alleged child abuse and neglect to the Texas State Department of Human Resources. Though they constitute approximately 20 percent of the city's population, military families were involved in only 11 percent of the total referrals to child protective services staff.

Project CARE's findings were in contrast with those of Wichlacz (1975) which indicated that the reported rate of abuse and neglect among military families in Germany was significantly greater than the reported rate among civilians in Denver and New York for the same year. This difference in findings was not unexpected because families living overseas are subject to higher levels of stress related to cultural shock, social isolation, and financial difficulties. Additionally, fewer resources are available overseas to deal with military family problems.

The unique characteristics of each community, its service delivery system, and variations in reporting procedures and casefinding efforts must be examined when making conclusions and comparisons of reported rates of child abuse and neglect. Gelles (1975) notes that with so many systems involved in abuse cases — medical, social services, criminal justice, school, neighborhood, and family systems — a greater understanding is needed of how people who are labeled abusers move through these systems, of how people are lost in the system or remain unidentified without access to services. For example, the tendency of higher-ranking officers to utilize private treatment resources has been widely recognized (Cowing, 1974), thus having a potential impact upon reporting rates for this subgroup within the military.

Rural military communities in the United States also have special characteristics which differentiate them from urban, comparatively "resource-rich" communities. Reported rates of abuse in rural military communities may be higher because resources for crisis intervention and intensive treatment are severely limited. Military communities in urban areas face unique problems of multiple agency involvement, requiring intensive interagency coordination and clarification of roles and responsibilities in providing services to families. Gaps in services can develop, and families are "lost in the system or unidentified." In the absence of functional, formalized procedures for reporting, child abuse casefinding is minimized. Thus, reporting rates of child abuse and neglect in any community are to be viewed with extreme caution, and community comparisons are sometimes inappropriate.

Although it is apparent that the reported rate of child abuse in the local military community is lower than expected, family problems presented in the reported cases were complex. Many families required a multitude of therapeutic and concrete services to stabilize the crisis and improve their functioning as a family unit. The unexpected finding of wife abuse in 20 percent of the families is a clear indicator that the level of violence within these cases demands immediate and effective intervention beyond the crisis stage. Intervening in a crisis and then closing the case when the situation stabilizes does not help the family strengthen its ability to cope with stress and crisis which are the precipitators of abusive and neglectful behavior. The fact that prior abuse or neglect was suspected or substantiated in one-third of the cases further reflects the need for more intensive, effective, and sustained intervention.

Refusal of services by families in the study was a significant problem. Some families refused intervention, preferring instead to deny their problems and to function from crisis to crisis instead of accepting services which could have resulted in long-term improvement in functioning. Sgt. and Mrs. L. are an example of such a family.

> *Mrs. L., the twenty-four year old dependent wife of retired Sgt. L. brought her nineteen month-old son into the emergency room for treatment for diarrhea and dehydration. He was hospitalized for eight days for his condition which had deteriorated because medical treatment had not been sought earlier. Mrs. L. also alleged that the nineteen-month-old and her ten-year-old stepson had been forced to drink wine by Sgt. L. and that he had beaten the children with a tree branch. Project CARE assessed the family situation and found numerous significant family problems. Sgt. L., who had been medically retired from the service because of alcoholism, "nervousness," marital, and job difficulties admitted forcing both children to drink wine, believing this would discourage them from drinking when older. He admitted hitting the ten-year-old with a rubber hose to assure the child's loyalty and obedience. Sgt. and Mrs. L. had a racially mixed marriage which had survived several separations but continued to be strained. In addition, Sgt. L's alcoholism remained a problem after he left the service, and when drinking he became irrational and physically abusive to his wife and children. Mrs. L. was moderately retarded and her husband exploited her by*

forcing her to have sexual relations with his friends. She moved in with her mother after the baby was hospitalized and considered seeking a restraining order against her husband; however, she changed her mind and moved back in with him. A visiting nurse monitored the children's health for a short time afterwards. Sgt. L. — while verbalizing his willingness to receive services — refused to follow through on recommendations for alcohol treatment, marital therapy, or child management counseling.

Although treatment was received by 12 percent of the 128 closed cases, it was offered to and refused by a significantly greater number of families. As in the case of retired Sgt. L., military service deliverers concluded there was little they could do to encourage them to accept therapeutic services. This issue has been raised in military child protection council meetings and applied equally to the dependent spouses of active duty military personnel. Social workers who were successful in convincing families to accept treatment used a positive, supportive, and yet aggressive approach. Outreach to families was also a mandatory element of this approach. One area for future research is the extent to which families feel threatened, and perhaps intimidated, by a recommendation of therapy from the employer — the military — and additionally, what approaches and types of intervention might be more successful in reducing this threat.

Outreach is not characteristic of the military social work model, which is geared toward the motivated client. Military social work staffing patterns and manpower requirements would require modifications to allow for outreach efforts to establish rapport and to convince defensive and resistive parents of the need to accept services for the family. The frequency with which families refuse therapeutic intervention in child abuse and neglect cases reflects the need to develop more effective and possibly more aggressive approaches to encourage families to accept treatment. The best interest of the children in these families must be the primary consideration.

Some military professionals indicated a strong preference to routinely inform a sponsor's commanding officer (CO) of an allegation of abuse and neglect and the sponsor's involvement in the military child advocacy program. Even if a CO is oriented to and supportive of the program, the sponsor and his family could become even more threatened, defensive, and resistive to a therapeutic approach. In addition, routinely informing a CO seems to contradict military child advocacy regulations which strongly encourage a nonpunitive and helping approach to such cases. Although the CO was informed in 20 percent of the cases studied, he was asked to intervene in only 2 percent; this occurred when the sponsor refused to cooperate with medical and social work personnel and initial referral data indicated that a child in the home was at risk. The CO was informed as a last resort to assure completion of a thorough assessment.

Tracking referral sources and pathways into child protection programs is necessary in order to assess the number of intermediate steps required and the time delay between the initial referral and the intervenor's first contact with a family. Determination of methods which facilitate or inhibit case movement into proper channels for intervention is vital in delivering child protective services because many clients may be accessible and open to services during a family crisis yet defensive and unreachable after the situation stabilizes. Social work coverage after duty hours, at night, performs such a function and is an essential element in any child protective services system.

The time track of social work response to referrals indicated prompt response (within 48 hours) in one-fourth of the cases. With high caseloads, protective services staff have been required to prioritize referrals into those requiring immediate intervention and those which can be assessed at a later date. Discussing referrals in multidisciplinary team meetings provides for accountability by assuring that cases in either category are not delayed for excessively long periods.

An active case manager facilitates case movement through the maze of services. Because child advocacy services involve multidisciplinary, multi-agency intervention, fragmentation of services is a universal problem; however, the assignment of one intervenor charged with the responsibility of coordinating, actively supporting, and facilitating the family's use of services can alleviate a portion of the fragmentation.

The practice of designating civilian child protective services workers to serve military cases exclusively also facilitates case movement. These workers are familiar with military child advocacy policies, procedures, and personnel. As a result they are able to intervene appropriately, assessing the family situation, facilitating provision of services, or initiating legal action if needed. Conversely, military child advocacy personnel are provided specific contacts in the civilian protective services bureaucracy so that case referral and coordination are more easily facilitated. This arrangement reduces duplication of services or intervention at cross-purposes.

Extensive areas of child abuse and neglect research in the military community remain to be studied. Project CARE's findings should be considered preliminary until the total sample of 195 cases is analyzed. Also, several methodological constraints were experienced which need to be addressed in succeeding research endeavors and by policymakers service-wide.

Any research effort on child abuse and neglect in the military faces the problem of inconsistent definitions of the behavior being studied. Each branch of the service and each state employs different definitions of abuse and neglect, usually characterized by vague terminology subject to broad interpretation. The lack of a uniform definition requires the researcher to develop and consistently utilize a single definition, which at times may require an independent determination to classify a case as invalid, suspected, potential, or established abuse and neglect.

Emotional abuse and neglect are still definitionally grey areas. The term child advocacy is also vague. The Army regulation (600-48) considers child advocacy to be an organized effort to promote the growth, development, and general welfare of children. However, some service deliverers use the term child advocacy as a euphemism for child abuse and neglect.

A second methodological problem is the utilization of case records. Project CARE's methodology, although time consuming, was necessary to obtain accurate and complete data on the involvement of multiple service deliverers representing different agencies. Research which relies solely on case documentation is ill-advised. It is doubtful that case records at San Antonio's military medical centers and the civilian child protection agency were any better or worse than their counterparts at other installations and in other states. Inconsistencies in case data obtained by CARE from different sources were easier to resolve than the frequently encountered problem of missing data in closed case records. An area requiring further investigation is the methodology for data collection on child abuse and neglect cases service-wide. Project CARE's findings indicated that reports were made to the OSI central registry on only 25 percent of the established cases of abuse and neglect among Air Force families. If OSI statistics serve as the basis for planning manpower and resource allocations, the estimate of manpower needed to handle these cases will fall far short of reality. The number of invalidated cases is an additional data element missing from OSI statistics. These cases also require manpower for intakes and assessments. Rather than advocating that case names on invalidated referrals be submitted to the OSI registry, it is suggested that statistical data regarding the number of such referrals be forwarded to indicate installation effort.

Further research of child abuse and neglect in the military is needed in the following areas:

- controlled studies utilizing direct client interviews, testing, and observation of parent-child interactions.
- a longitudinal study perhaps at Department of Defense level of the career impact of a child abuse/neglect referral.
- impact of various types of intervention on abusive/neglectful behavior and the family dynamics behind it.
- controlled studies of the special role of military stresses as possible contributors to child abuse and neglect; why some families are drawn closer together by the stresses of military life and others deteriorate.
- controlled studies of the stereotype of the authoritarian personality in military life and the role of this personality

type in child abuse and neglect in both military and civilian families.

- appropriate mechanisms to be used to evaluate the impact and effectiveness of military child advocacy programs (quantity, quality, or responsiveness?).
- impact of joint military and civilian efforts to deal with child abuse and neglect among the military.

A final suggested topic for future research is the determination of whether or not military families evidencing abusive/neglectful behavior should be defined, studied and portrayed as a separate and unique population vis a vis civilian families. The creation and depiction of typical military child abusers can yield a stereotypic profile that may hamper installation efforts in case finding and prevention. Child abuse in the military family has been labeled as the "sergeant's syndrome"; however, the rank breakdown in the research sample is not significantly different from the rank structure of the local military population. Additionally, the findings of this paper do not reflect the sharp individual differences and unique problems of families in the research sample.

Project CARE's findings indicate that — as in civilian life — child abuse and neglect in the military are symptomatic of broader problems involving dysfunctional, ineffective parents and families. An isolated incident of abusive behavior may be as much a cry for help as a series of incidents. Rather than focusing on assignment of blame, and labeling and stereotyping perpetrators, clinicians must make a thorough assessment of family history, dynamics, and stresses. A coordinated multidisciplinary military/civilian effort is necessary to intervene and strengthen the family's capacity to care for its children.

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